strong feeling that a man who has acquired two wives or all the issue 582
of his gawel's first wife should allow his younger brother to have 593
his share of the women from the gawel and mokul. The older brother,
however, has the first right to them, and his gawel will ask his permission 595
before giving the third daughter to the younger man. He will
say: "It is better that your yukiyuko have this woman, for you have
two already, and he has none. It is better that I have more waku to
help me." Unless the older brother is an extraordinarily selfish person,
he immediately replies, "Yes, you tell him to feed her" (give her to
him for a wife); and he helps his younger brother procure the presents
he must give gawel and mokul for this wife.

Mutual help prevails between wawa and yukiyuko in giving fre- 593
quent presents to gawel and mokul. When wawa is making presents 606
for his first wives, yukiyuko gives him spears, game from the hunt, 431
and whatever wawa might like to present to his parents-in-law. When
yukiyuko's turn comes, wawa is equally helpful. There is no obligation
on yukiyuko to make presents to wawa for the latter's right to the
galle that are to come to the former. Rather, wawa frequently asks
gawel to give his other daughters to yukiyuko and makes presents to
gawel for this purpose. Several motives guide him in this procedure. 593
The first is brotherly affection and family pride. Own brothers through 835
one father and one mother or father's brothers and mother's sisters
are one's best friends, and most like one socially. Then there is frequently
the fear that yukiyuko will fornicate with wawa's wives. This
is no uncommon thing; the jungle and Australian bush offer ample
opportunities for secret meetings. An old man usually suffers this
indignity in silence, since he knows that his senility forces his wives
to go to other men for sexual satisfaction and that his younger brothers
who will inherit them are the proper ones for them. If the older
brother has this situation too forcibly thrust upon him by camp gossip,
he must attempt to discipline the younger man by scolding him—
but "he doesn't talk very hard." Among younger men this would cause [626]
considerable trouble and would not happen very often except among
tribal brothers, the whole pressure of society being against the younger
man: all the relatives in his male line and those of the clan would
defend the rights of the older man and condemn the younger. Finally,
an older brother always helps a younger brother to acquire a wife
because it settles the younger man and tends to prevent his getting
into trouble with more remote wawas, yukiyukos, and other kin, by

593 dances in the mourning for him. All varieties of brothers within the
764 clan are included, the activity being really more a clan than a fraternal function.

593 Among brothers within the clan fighting is not allowed, but among
682 brothers who belong to adjoining clans warfare is quite common.

Although the Murngin and the other seven tribes who share their
786 type of kinship have a very strong feeling against the younger
837 brother's copulating with an older brother's wife under ordinary circumstances,
there is a period among the peoples practicing the Gunabibi
ceremony when sexual "license" is recognized and even demanded
between brothers and their wives. This is, however, strictly regulated;
only brothers from more distant clans would be invited and allowed
to exchange wives for ceremonial copulation. The tribal ideal of this
custom is that a few nights before the end of the ceremony older
brothers call their consanguine younger brothers and ask the latter to
go to the nearby camp of the distant brothers in attendance at this
ceremony, taking the older men's wives with them. The older brothers
in the visitors' camp do likewise. The men and women paint themselves
and go into the bush in the nearby jungle for copulation. The
last night one woman may stay with several men, for a larger proportion
of men than women always attend, since wifeless brothers usually
enter into this ceremony. After a man has had intercourse with a
tribal brother's wife, the husband puts his sweat on both of his guest's
legs "so that he won't be sick from it." The men meanwhile have been
[431] giving presents to the women for some time before the ceremony
and the women turn the gifts over to their husbands, although they
frequently keep part for themselves. In reality, there is an exchange
of presents, as well as of wives, among these more distant brothers.

The above is a tribal ideal. Actually, copulation purely for pleasure
[783 starts early in the ceremony, while the last night's indulgence is a
751] purification rite supposed to cleanse a man and woman of impurities
and to avoid illness during the period between the present ceremony
and the next. The men and women have clandestine meetings, but it is
generally known which people are having these assignations in the
surrounding bush or jungle, and many broadly humorous remarks are
passed by both sexes about their various lovers. However, some men
and women would not enter into this earlier secret copulation, but
would wait until the last night.*

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* The ritual place of wife exchange and its significance are treated in the chapter on Murngin totemism, particularly pages 306-308.

593 [582 431] Brothers look to their sisters to supply them with wakus for their daughters to marry. A waku's importance to a man is no less than that of a son. A brother always makes presents to his sister for her son, as well as to her husband.

[262 224] A brother, but no sister, may eat a youth's kill of kangaroo, emu, et cetera, until the youth's wife has had a child. A sister is supposed to help carry the ruddled bones of the first kangaroo or emu killed by her brother, just as she helps carry her dead brother's bones.

[551] A brother and father always know and keep the tabooed names of a girl. No woman knows her ceremonial name.

593 601 There are two sets of behavior in the relationship of a brother and sister that must be treated together (see pages 110-112 for an interpretation of the Wakinu and Mirriri customs). First, she is called wakinu by all her brothers. In its primary sense, wakinu means a person without kin, and secondarily "worthless" or, more expressively, "rubbish." [176] Bamapama, the trickster hero, a much-loved scoundrel who lived in the olden days and broke all laws, is always wakinu after some particularly fantastic escapade of his has been retold. Wakinu is used during a fight as an appropriate term against one's enemies. Secondly, 593 195 831 no brother can hear his sister sworn at or hear obscene speech in her presence, such as is very common otherwise. Ordinarily, when a man's anger rises, he immediately bursts into an almost pyrotechnical display of abuse, most of it centering around sex, breaking of incest taboos, peculiarities of the genitalia, irregularities in the sexual act between men and women, et cetera. The aversion to hearing or using such profanity in front of a sister is called "mirriri" (ear-thing). It really means, "My ear can't hear obscenity in front of my sister." An older man said, "It is just the same as if I had been hit on the head with a club when I hear that." Another said, "My heart jumps and stops, jumps and stops, when I hear that mirriri."

602 578 195 Malambunu had come home and found his food unprepared by his wife, Dangra. A quarrel resulted in which he called her matamakmi (incestuous). She did not swear at him. A near-clan brother of Dangra, Badunga, heard the swearing and became very angry. He gathered a bundle of spears, hooked them one by one to his spear-thrower, and threw them at a large number of the women in the native camp, including Dangra. An investigation showed that every one of the women at whom he threw was called yeppa by him.

Balli, an adolescent girl, called her own mother dalardumaru (big vagina).

578 837 "Let us go back and fight him," he said. The two took their spears and went. "Why do you keep on saying I try to lie with your wife? I didn't." Narnarngo called Bengaliwe "deindumeiu" (big testicles). Bengaliwe replied by calling Narnarngo "golitchirtommeru" (big kidneyed). Both terms designate a man who would break all laws of sexual behavior.

When Benaitjimaloi heard the quarrel he came over with his four brothers and stood back of Narnarngo to help him. He is true galle to Narnarngo. Other near male relatives joined each side and a new camp brawl was in progress. No one was killed or very much hurt in the fight that followed. It was later ascertained that a small boy, unaware of the string's significance, had taken it out of Bengaliwe's and placed it in Djowa's wife's basket.

837 437 Sometimes a woman attempts to seduce a young man into joining her for a lovers' assignation. She usually starts by sending him food. After these presents have been given for a while and he is sure of their meaning, he usually tells the woman who brings them for her friend to tell the other woman where he will meet her. If they have an assignation, he usually makes presents to her. Sometimes young men are so bashful that it takes much persuasion to force them into such a union.

583 837 626 628 A runaway marriage differs from a union caused by a man's stealing a woman in that the woman gives her consent; such an arrangement has the consent of neither her people nor his; whereas in the case of theft, a man's own people frequently support him, particularly if there has been hard feeling between the two clans and a conscious rivalry for the women of certain groups. The runaway union usually ends in his and her people attempting to send her back to her true dué, because it would lead to armed trouble between the man's people and the members of the right dué's clan, and also for the woman's people if they did not condemn the act by helping the true dué regain his wife. However, no man's clan would desert him in such a situation to the point of allowing him to be killed or attacked by the injured man's group. Ordinarily, such a situation ends in a "growling" match, in which the two sides stand armed behind the two opponents, the lover allowing the injured husband to have the better of the cursing. Sometimes such a runaway marriage leads to permanent union.

583 837 After a couple have been lovers for some time they may be so fond of each other as to risk everything and leave their own kin and go to a distant clan. Her people, the husband's gawel and galle, immediately help the injured spouse to regain his wife. The people of their groups

593 the people engaged in the trouble because it is believed a spirit of the
775 dead should not be disturbed by fights until after the last mourning
ceremony. It was as father and mother that the two protested, but
152 evidently through the child there was a greater bond of solidarity
between them.

605 When a young dué is circumcised, his near galle cut their thighs
304 "to show their sorrow." A galle always carries her dué's bones after
they have been exhumed.

605 *Dué Diramo* ⟷ *Galle Diramo* (father's sister's son ⟷ mother's brother's son)

There are as many variations in the dué-diramo and galle-diramo relationship as in the dué-diramo and galle-mielk type.

[607] This is one of the strongest relationships between men. The actual
brothers of ego's wife (who is the daughter of mother's brother) and
the consanguine father's sister's son (who is the husband of ego's
sister) have the strongest bond of any of the male dué and galle. Each
● [431] always comes to the other for assistance when he gets into trouble. When
a man is giving presents to gawel for gawel's daughter, he also offers
them to galle diramo because he is brother to the wife.

When Narnarngo got himself into trouble with Bengaliwe his dué immediately came to his assistance (see page 86). This is only one instance of scores recorded by the writer.

Dué and galle engage in many enterprises together, such as canoe building. The bond between them finds a full expression in all the everyday activities of life. When a man is in trouble and needs a good supply of weapons it is always his brothers, and his dué and galle, who lend him extra spears and clubs, and who come to his assistance.

605 Male dué and galle have added strength given to their relationship
through indirect ties; dué's son and galle's daughter will later be
582 husband and wife; and galle will later be, or is, gawel to dué's son,
just as dué is waku to galle's father. This last relationship is one of
the most binding in Murngin society, and by indirect relationship it
occurs twice in the reciprocity that exists between galle and dué:
dué's son is waku to galle, and dué is waku to galle's father.

605 The full position of dué diramo and galle diramo cannot be realized until one studies the behavior of yeppa and her brother and her position as the wife of dué. The dué's position therefore includes the following relationships: (1) to his wife; (2) to galle's father; and (3) his son's relationship of waku to dué's galle. Every one of these elements

contributes appreciably to the solidarity of the two men. Many elements make for conflict if the marriage is normal, but this is overcome by the Murngin with great brilliance in social engineering. 605

Galle diramo and dué mielk have little direct relationship. Their entire conduct is a pale reflection of the other galle-diramo and dué-diramo reciprocity. Galle diramo marries mari mielk and his wife's relatives belong to a different line from that of dué mielk; dué mielk's husband is kutara in still another line. [582]

Gawel ⟷ *Waku* (diramo and mielk) (mother's brother ⟷ sister's child) 604

There are two types of the waku-gawel relationship since there are both a male and a female waku, the relationship with the latter being of little importance. There are six varieties of the gawel and waku-diramo type. They are, in descending order of significance: (1) the consanguine mother's brother (gawel) and sister's son, the latter having the former's daughter as a wife; (2) mother's brother whose daughters have been given to waku's brothers; (3) consanguine mother's brothers, but with no daughters given to the sister's son; (4) near mother's brothers and sister's sons; (5) distant mother's brothers and sister's sons, who have a trading reciprocation; and (6) distant mother's brothers and sister's sons.

The first three and the fifth are the important varieties in the eyes of the natives. The fifth will be treated by itself (see page 145), since it includes other elements of the Murngin culture either latent or nonexistent in the relationships so far studied. The fundamental facts are that mother's brother is the man to whom sister's son looks for a wife, and that accordingly waku is the man from whom gawel receives many presents and favors.

As soon as a boy is old enough to comprehend, his parents point gawel out to him, or a gawel may tell the boy that he is his potential father-in-law and as such must receive special attention. This means that throughout waku's life he is always giving presents to gawel. The latter at times returns them. All the articles of the daily diet and material culture are included in this gift-making. When a waku has been initiated into the tribal secrets to the point where he knows and has seen his ranga, he often gives the string from it to his gawel. This is the finest gift one man could make to another, unless it were the ranga itself or a hair belt made from a dead clansman's hair. In a way, any of these presents would give an important part of the social 604 431

604 personality of the waku to his gawel. The gifts are always more numer-
431 ous from the younger man to the older; but when a gawel receives
ranga string, a ranga, or the hair belt, he must reciprocate by giving a
return present to show his appreciation, or he would offend his waku.

604 When a gawel gives his daughter to his sister's son, this is not
582 merely a gift, for the waku by tribal law has a right to her and would
fight for her if the gawel tried to give her to someone else. He would
also feel that he had the right to gawel's wife's second daughter and
[587] the privilege of declining the offer of a third. There would be an
obligation, too, on gawel to give his waku another wife if the first
were barren or died before giving birth to a child. If a waku's wife
runs away from him, his gawel would under almost all circumstances
do everything possible to get her back for the husband. If he did not,
he would feel obligated to give the waku another daughter in her
place.

A gawel decides when the waku shall receive his daughter, or, in other words, he really determines when the tribe shall give its complete recognition to the marriage.

A group of brothers who were gawel would be divided up according to seniority among a group of waku who were brothers. The oldest gawel would have the oldest waku, and the next oldest gawel would have the next oldest waku. This is the ideal, naturally not always realized. Ideally, also, the first wife gives her first two daughters to the oldest waku and the next daughter to the next oldest waku.

[591] When a gawel decides to give recognition to a marriage of his daugh-
ter to a waku, he instructs his wife (mokul rumeru to the waku) to
build a camp for the two, and for a time residence is matrilocal (see
page 77).

604 When it is decided that a waku is to get a gawel's daughter, the
584 gawel shows his pleasure by giving presents to his dué, who is the boy's
father, and also to yeppa, his sister, who is the boy's mother. The boy's
431 mother would receive more than the father. A gawel is pleased, because
a waku is like a second son to him, and he has strengthened his posi-
581 tion in the tribe by this marriage tie to another clan, whereas a daughter
is of little use in time of war. A waku would be of great help, both
because of himself and his brothers, and also because of waku's other
relatives.

604 Such a relationship would also prevent trouble. "If my bapa and
my gawel tried to fight, I'd stop them," is a favorite remark among
the Murngin men. "I wouldn't know which one to help. I'd stop both

of them." This demonstrates clearly the strong bond between these 604 relatives. Sometimes a waku's gawel is not galle to the waku's father except distantly. Obviously, given the above feelings, the gawel-waku relationship adds much to the strength of a clan and at the same time helps prevent trouble between the two groups.

If a fight developed, gawel would help waku with the loan of his spears, and, if necessary, by fighting for him. His own sons would also aid his waku, their due. A waku is taught much of what he knows [868] about fighting and hunting by gawel. If the older man is a magician he also teaches this art to his waku.

Gawel uses waku's property, or vice versa, with the freedom of a brother or father. If gawel's wife is misbehaving, waku tries by indirect [626] threats of death to make her conform to the tribal ideal of conduct.

Sometimes a gawel promises a waku his daughter, the boy makes 604 presents to him for a long period of time, and the gawel then refuses to give him the girl. This means trouble. Strong pressure would usually 578 be put upon the older man to force him to give her to the boy. This might end in an interclan fight, or the waku would probably run away with her.

Another disappointing situation for waku that occasionally occurs 604 is when a gawel says, "I'll give you the daughters from this wife." The waku makes presents over a period of time, meanwhile watching 584 the woman to see if she is going to bear children. If she is barren or 431 produces only sons he stops making his father-in-law presents and turns his attention to some other gawel.

The Australian aborigine is a most industrious trader. Articles of 439 trade are passed over well-known trade routes for hundreds of miles 438 and through many tribes. The Murngin and their neighbors are no exceptions to this rule. The Ritarngo and the Djinba trade stone spear heads to the seacoast tribes for red ocher and pipe clay, or for wooden spears. Ranga string is exchanged between them, as well as many other articles. The waku-gawel reciprocal is utilized for the trading. All men 604 try to have as many distant waku as they can. Presents are constantly 431 being exchanged between the two, not to acquire material wealth so much as to extend a man's sphere of influence beyond the nearby clans. 554 It pleases a Murngin to have a present sent from a distant people and 574 adds greatly to his social prestige. It also gives him a greater feeling of safety when traveling, to know that he has a waku or gawel with whom he has this trading relationship. Waku and gawel often visit each other and their behavior demonstrates real friendship when they meet.

For a few days a mother carries her newborn child under her arm 854
in a strip of paper bark. At this time she covers it with charcoal to
make it turn black, for it is very light when born and it is thought [302
that it will stay that color unless so painted. In a short time she holds 856]
her infant on her shoulder, its legs straddling her neck and its arms
clinging to her head. She carries her children out into the bush with
her while she gathers the plants, or shell food, for the family larder.
When the little boy is about four years old he stays in camp with the 857
other little ones. But the young girls continue going with their 868
mothers, who during this early period start teaching them the countless things they must know about the fauna and flora, the land and
the sea, in order to become good food-gatherers. When a boy is to be 852
circumcised the mother always makes presents to the man who paints [431 ●
his body for the ceremony. When the son kills his first kangaroo or 777]
emu, the bones are painted and she carries them as she does those of
a dead relative. This is to bring the son good luck in the hunt.

If the son's fathers are dead, the mother is sometimes consulted as
to the proper time to circumcise him. When the boy returns from his
journey to all the local clans, inviting them to come to his circumcision
ceremony, it is she who brags about the number of presents given
him. She always exaggerates because it is felt that this will also be
helpful for the son in acquiring the good things in later life. While [152]
he is being circumcised she cries and beats herself. The actions are
customary, but they are more than that to the mother, who is deeply
affected when she hears her son's cries. The sisters to the mother act [604
in the same way during this ceremony. A mother seldom corrects her 861]
child, this being left for mari and nati to do.

When a child is hurt or dead a mother always cuts and beats her 765
head to show her grief. After the child is buried she paints herself 302
with red ocher to cleanse herself of ceremonial impurity so that she
can go out for wood and food with the other women. She waits until after burial to paint herself because the body would not decompose if she did it before. After the bones have been prepared for dispersal among the women she is one of the carriers and is usually the first to get them.

The child sees the mother's sisters as arndi not only because they are 604
her sisters but because the father may die and the mother will be 587
transferred to a younger brother of the father, or an older brother
may die and his wives will be given to the child's father. In both
cases the women would be arndi as wives to the child's father.

602 553 shall be given, which means that the father chooses the names from his marelker.

602 Kutara and mari always come to each other's assistance in times of danger. When a camp quarrel is being aired kutara invariably stands at mari's side. If one of them is killed the other will aid the avenging party. A black magician's tales of his killings speak of a mari who had lost his kutara in a spear fight and had come to the magician [154] for aid to buy back his kutara's life. The sorcerer slew the kutara's killer by magic, and the mari paid for it with many handsome gifts.

[431] Presents are always being exchanged between kutara and mari. When ranga string is being given away after some of the big ceremonies, mari and kutara are always prominent in the exchanges.

775 When kutara dies mari's spirit always comes for him, along with marikmo's. If the deceased was a young man, the dead mari's spirit condemns his relatives for not giving the child better treatment and for not preventing his death. They always explain to his mari's spirit that they have done all they could to keep him alive. Mari helps marikmo's spirit take the dead soul back to its totemic water hole and helps protect it against the evil ghosts who try to steal kutara's soul. So, in death as in life, mari is kutara's protector and guide. [852] In the Djungguan circumcision ceremony mari's totemic name is always called out by his kutara, as is marikmo's, and it is believed that the spirit of mari appears at that time, although it is not seen.

602 Mari is usually the person who really teaches kutara his manners.
[867] Mari is powerful not only because of his direct relationship with kutara, but also indirectly, for he is father of mokul (mother-in-law) and marelker (mokul's brother); he is marelker to kutara's bapa, and wawa or yukiyuko to mari mielk, who is mother to kutara's gawel.

602 606 The fact that mari is father to kutara's mokul, the woman with the strongest taboos around her and one who is very important to kutara, gives kutara a strength he would not otherwise possess. He can force mokul to give her daughter to him if the mokul is unfair about it, since mari can put pressure not only on her but on her husband, who is gawel to kutara. Mari occupies, because of this relationship with kutara's gawel and mokul, one of the most powerful positions. A man's whole position, security and well-being demand that he have a number of wives and children; he must look to gawel and mokul for the fruition of his wishes; if his mari and he are on good terms, which nearly always holds true, his mari will force these two to help him. In other words, the relatives with whom ego is weakest are those with

602 mutual avoidance. He cannot speak to her; she cannot speak to him.
606 He does not look at her; she does not look at him. They do not hand
any article to each other or use each other's names. Should they meet
on a path they each turn aside and walk past with their eyes averted.
There is no direct contact between the two, except in very unusual
cases or in times of great emotion, such as during a fight, when a man
or a woman is not aware of what he is doing. Their whole relationship
is an indirect one.

602 A child before circumcision is exempt from the avoidance rules
because he is considered too young to understand them. After this he
867 is told to observe all of them in his relationship with all his mokul.
A young mokul is also told at an early age that she must observe all
the taboos surrounding gurrong. If a mokul has become very old it is
possible to talk to her, receive food, and be near her, but the relationship
is always most formal and reserved.

602 Should a mokul or gurrong disobey any of the taboos unwittingly
(it would happen in no other way), a sore or large swelling would
753 appear in the groin of the offender. Several persons were so afflicted, and
606 all their tribesmen believed them to have broken this taboo and to be
suffering the penalty.

602 Mokul and gurrong may be near each other around the same fire.
An observer would not notice their avoidance unless aware of the
606 custom and the relationship of the individuals; it then becomes quite
marked.

602 This taboo does not imply any animosity between the two, their indirect
relationship usually being most pleasant. A man is proud of
606 his mokul and boasts of her kindness to him. She always sends him
431 food and her most prized possessions through her daughter, and he
sends presents to her through his wife. She, too, is equally proud of
her gurrong, and tells of his many kindnesses to her.

602 If a man's galle misbehaves, mokul would always help him discipline
her. Only in cases of extreme cruelty would the wife's mother
606 take her part against the husband. If a gurrong is neglectful of his
duty in giving presents to his parents-in-law, there is always a chance
[586] that, during the early part of a marriage before there are any children,
the daughter will be taken away from him. The mokul takes a prominent
part in this action, for she feels that he must look out for her.

A mokul who misbehaved herself as a wife to gawel would find her gurrong against her and he would help gawel punish her.

For a full appreciation of her relationship to gurrong, it is neces-

quantities regularly in certain spots along the coast. These eggs are 222
greatly relished by the natives.[8]

3. *Kinship Customs*

The enlargement of a Murngin's economic behavior is dependent on 431
two factors: (1) the horde; and (2) certain reciprocals in the kinship 604
structure. All the relatives of a Murngin ordinarily exchange gifts with him, but certain kinship personalities do this much more than others. The mother's brother—sister's son relationship has been seized upon as the mechanism for enlarging the economic life of a Murngin man. "Far-off" wakus and gawels are sought by a man, distant not only socially but geographically; the greater distance a man has between him and a trading waku or gawel, the greater pride he exhibits when displaying articles sent or brought to him by his relative, and the greater satisfaction he feels when sending or returning gifts. (See chapter on kinship, page 95.)

The mari-kutara relationship is much the same, except that there 431
is a tendency to indulge in ritual gifts much more than in those from 602
the ordinary material culture. The feathered string which has been 283
the decorative covering of the totemic poles is sent by mari or kutara to the other. This exchange of ritual goods plays a prominent part in the economic life of the people, since if a mari receives a gift from kutara he must, in a not too great period of time, return a present of like ritual value. The finely turned string, often used as ritual 283
string, is usually made by women, at times hundreds of feet of it. It 237
is generously covered with birds' feathers and used on one of the 431
larger totem poles. Obviously a great amount of work on the part of the women and the killing of a large number of birds is required to meet the needs of ritual exchange. Only the red feathers from the breasts

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[8] The people of the various areas, particularly those west and east of the Goyder, 266
are always accusing each other of cannibalism. The author can vouch that no cannibals are present among the peoples east of the Goyder and roughly in the Murngin 186
area. The Murngin tell a number of stories of the people south of Cape Stewart which to them prove the existence of cannibalism there. Some of them claim they have seen men's baskets filled with meat which was neither kangaroo nor dunong and which they were convinced was human flesh. In one account I collected, the narrator described watching a cannibal feast. The victim, a large man, was carved and prepared for cooking. There is much scornful joking among the Murngin about these people to the west of them. When they think they see human flesh in the basket of one of these people they say, "Ah, what is this one?" and another Murngin replies, "Oh, that's a kangaroo," with a sarcastic inflection in his voice. The other one says, "Yes, but it doesn't smell just like kangaroo," to which the reply is made, "Oh, well, maybe it's only a dead man."

283 of the red-breasted parrot can be used for certain totemic emblems.
237 To collect a sufficient supply of red feathers to put on such totems as
431 their fire, woman and other Dua moiety totemic emblems demands
considerable industry not only on the part of the totem makers in their
daily hunting and robbings of birds' nests but also in gift exchanges.
This means that red ocher and other body paints, spear heads from
the interior, carved wooden spears from the coastal belt, and other
objects of economic value must be had to trade. Small white feathers
from hawks' breasts and from the sulphur-crested cockatoo and the
blue-eyed corella are also used for the string of many totems. The
larger feathers of the cockatoos and the yellow crest of the sulphur-crested
cockatoo are used for the great ritual headdresses made by the
[314] men with the aid of adhesive gathered from the ironwood tree and the
honeybee's hive. Ironwood resin makes a very hard, durable cement
and is used for many purposes for which the beeswax is too malleable.
[237] Ordinarily the beeswax is preferred for the molding of head pieces
because the proper shapes can be more easily obtained.

431 Obviously the extension of the kinship personality of a man by the
exchange of gifts between far-off relatives or the strengthening of the
602 bonds between near kin such as mari and kutara definitely stimulates
economic enterprise. More labor is necessary than if these mechanisms
were not present. The goods themselves take on higher value from
[178] their use in the totemic ceremonies; the totemic strings absorb some
of the clan ceremonial power and, once used, are taboo to the uninitiated.
They are of course valuable in another ritual since they will
be used by the receiver for his own totemic emblem and then be passed
on to other reciprocating relatives.

4. *Property*

423 Relating Murngin technological articles to human beings by the concept
of ownership is one of the methods of controlling and regulating
this society's adaptation to the natural environment, since it incorporates
the various articles of technology into the general social order.
The Murngin concepts of property are developed into a variety of
forms according to the type of thing owned. Land is divided among
[614] the clans; and definite areas and their natural objects such as trees,
water holes, and the like are considered as belonging to these exogamic
423 units. Derivatively the moieties are also supposed to have an "owning"
relationship to the land areas of the country. This means that not only
616 are spatial divisions organized by the separation of all things on the

852 its magical effect, to insure the boys' acquiring many presents on the
777 journey on which they are sent by the older men, and to enable them
always to have plenty of good things during their lives. The above quotation is not a formula and is varied according to the speaker.

852 The two boys, with a near relative such as an older dué (sister's hus-
band, father's sister's son), are sent out (at times this does not occur),
574 usually on separate paths, to visit the various relatives and clans to in-
484 vite them to the coming ceremony. The relatives of the boys who are present at the time they are sent away and who belong to outside clans are always desirous that the initiates visit their clans. The father chooses a trail for the boy to follow, but the man who accompanies and protects the boy usually modifies the father's directions to fit the circumstances of the journey.

The neophytes usually stay away a month, but their journey may last two moons, or less than one. If they leave when the moon is full they return when there is a new moon. In later years a man always boasts about the many clans he visited, the great distances he traveled, the long period he was absent on his journey.

The young men are sent away, it is said by the old Murngin men, so that they will meet new people, which is felt to be a good thing, and make lifelong friends among their more distant classificatory relatives. This ritualistic making of friends is not organized among these people as highly as in West Australia, nor does the path followed by the boy occupy as important a place in his later life as it does in West Australian regions.

One Wessel Island boy of the Perango clan went down through Elcho Island, where he visited the clan of that country, through Arnhem Bay and into the country of the Gwiyamil clan.[11] A candidate for initiation from the Wangurri clan went overland to the Barlamomo of Blue Mud Bay.

852 Before leaving, the boys are given new armlets which are then painted
with white clay; white cockatoo feather headdresses are put on them,
302 and their faces are daubed with white paint. Usually a white clay bark
301 band is tied around the forehead. Red ocher and kangaroo fat with
291 a white clay outline are put on the boys' faces. A large hair belt, suspended from which is a painted opossum fur string pubic covering, is put on the initiate for the first time. Before this he has gone completely nude, as do all uncircumcised boys.

852 Wherever the boy goes on his journey the people are informed of the
574 coming ceremony and invited to attend. All those who are invited give

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[11] See the clan and tribal map, page 40.

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presents, such as spears, hair belts, spear-throwers, and other valued 852
articles, to the boy. Most of these things are later presented to the 574
father, older brothers, gawel, and mari. If the boy were not treated 431
liberally his clan would be offended, and it might lead to an open feud; but the people in the clans visited are always generous and such cause for a feud is never given. While the boy is away the women gather yams, lily bulbs, and other vegetable food to prepare for their guests. Many of the visitors come with the boy when he returns, while others precede him to participate in the preliminary ceremonies.

3. When the neophyte arrives in camp, or frequently before he comes 852
back, the Warn-gai-tja is erected in the center of the main camp where all the people live. Two poles about six feet long are cut from trees (of any variety) in the old men's ground and tied together. A bunch of leaves is tied to the top of each pole. If three boys are to be initiated, three poles are cut and tied together; if only one boy is to be circumcised, only one pole. Grass is strewn on the ground around the foot of the pole. The sticks are Dua and the leaves are Yiritja.

The general camp of both the men and women is called Wonga. In 852
the center of it, or sometimes at the side of this ground if better suited 361
for dancing, is the general dance ground. The warngaitja is located in the center of the dance floor. It is here that men and women dance. This is the only part of the ceremonial ground to which women and uncircumcised boys have access. It is sometimes called Wakinu Wonga, which can be translated as "the camp of those who do not belong," and is used in a contemptuous sense (see pages 110-113).

The men bring the warngaitja into the main camp from the men's 852
ground. They carry their spears pointing downward and beat time 533
against the shafts with their spear-throwers. They sing meanwhile:

"War-li-mar-la din-ya
War-li-mar-la din-ya
(Dua sticks of the warngaitja)
Warn-gai-tja ngu-lai-ngu-lai
Warn-gai-tja ngu-lai-ngu-lai"
(Yiritja leaves of the warngaitja)

The following songs are also sung:

(1) Stone spear
(2) Camp made by Wawilak Sisters in the Garl-ban-uk country (Gun-al-pia)

852 leader walks among the men, who are decorating themselves with
302 birds' down to take the part of various birds and animals in the
778 coming ceremonial dances, and sings a song over their heads. He sings
the taboo names of the creature the man is painting himself to represent. This makes the design and the man magically powerful.

852 One end of a small green stick from any tree is chewed into a
brush and dipped into the blood, and the blood is painted over the
302 body of the man to form the various designs used by the dancers.
The paper bark dropped into the blood the day before is also used as a brush. Two men usually paint each other at the same time. The old men paint in the old men's camp, and the younger men go off by themselves. If the old men so desire, they may paint outside where the young men do. They do not let the neophytes see them decorate themselves for the ceremony.

2. The boys who are to be circumcised are painted on the dance
ground by older men. The totemic design of the clan is placed on
[824] each candidate's chest and abdomen, with the juice of an orchid bulb
as the adhesive; blood is never used because it is magically too power-
ful for an uncircumcised boy. The man who paints the boy is always
● [431] given a present by the father and mother. The neophytes are then led
by the older men to the head of the snake ground. Sweat from the armpit of an old man (almost as powerful as blood) is rubbed on the eyelids of the boys to strengthen their eyes for the coming ceremony.

852 3. The division of dances that follows on this day of the circum-
535 cision is on a moiety basis. Dua men dance Dua animals and plants,
Yiritja men dance Yiritja objects that belong to their world of culture,
616 man and nature.

Two men run in with their spears fixed to their spear-throwers and
852 point them straight at the boys as if they were going to throw them.
535 The men have their baskets in their mouths as they often do when
fighting. They return to the bush and rush in a second and third time. They are supposed to be fighting men and also catfish. The word for catfish is the same as that for one variety of fighters. The leader sings catfish while the men dance. Several old men stand beside the boys to instruct them and to prevent their running away.—Each group of dancers bows before the initiates just previous to leaving the dance ground.

After the "catfish" have retired, one man comes in dancing, carrying his spear-thrower and shaking it as if it were a bird's tail. He is a willy-wagtail. He pretends to pick flies off the branches of the trees

852 some of the older men with the totemic design of their clan, the
262 leader and the older men meanwhile singing the totemic names of
561 the clans, animals, and sacred clan wells over the youths. They can
302 now eat anything they desire. The taboo of silence (see Section F, 3)
is also removed at this time. The leader of this ceremony, who, as
852 has been said before, is usually the head of the Liaalaomir clan, is
431 always given presents by the newly initiated boys. These presents consist of all varieties of food, weapons and other elements of the material culture. The whole family of the boy, both men and women, help him. Only the old men can participate in the consumption of food that is given in payment.

852 4. The ceremonial trumpet (Yurlunggur) is put back in the totemic well of the clan whose leader has been giving the ceremony. It is buried at night in the mud so that the women will not see it when they are at the well. If it is in good condition at the time the next ceremony is held, it will be used for this occasion; if not, it is reburied and a new trumpet made.

852 *Native Interpretation.*—The reference in the native interpretation in
Section E which says a man cannot eat anything when he has blood
262 on him because he is unclean, indirectly explains the superficial reasons for placing the taboo on the older boys.

A general summary of the interpretation of each ritual section will be given in Chapter XI.

THE GUNABIBI CEREMONY

852 A. Preliminaries

1. Mandelprindi, the bull roarer, is made.
2. The young men are chosen for initiation by the leader.

1. The season chosen for the Gunabibi is always the dry period as soon as the food is plentiful, after the luxuriant spear grass has been burned and travel becomes easier. This ceremony lasts from two months to two years. At the discretion of the leaders it may be shortened or indefinitely prolonged. The information that a large group of people is coming from a long distance to participate at the Gunabibi often causes the leader to continue the preliminary stages a month or more while waiting for the visitors.

852 When the ceremonial leaders of the Liaalaomir clan have decided
that it is time to start the Gunabibi ritual, it is usually the younger
534 brother of the Liaalaomir leader who goes out into the men's ground

85✓ Meanwhile the women, under the guidance of an old man, leave their camp, form themselves into a solid, circular mass, and sit down in the territory between the main camp and the men's ceremonial grounds. They hide under their ainmaras (mats). Two old women walk up and down in front of the other women, beating the ground with clubs or digging sticks, and telling the young women that they cannot eat certain taboo foods or they will become ill and probably die; they will have sores on their bodies and rot away and harm their clan's people as well.

[431] With a line of men, two Yiritja water snakes (kak-a-war) appear before the women and uninitiated boys for the first time. The snakes call out in high tones, and the women answer in the same high trill in which they reply to the bull roarer. The men dance in a circle around the women. All the women make presents to the men, which are turned over to the two Yiritja snakes. The gift is obligatory, under penalty of illness and possible death sent by Muit, to whom the presents are supposed to be made. The two old women walk up and down, beating the ground with their clubs, and shout.

Their words can be freely translated: "Muit, do not come out any more and swallow us, for now we are clean and no longer impure":

Wal-mi Come out	Nin-ne Stop there
Nin-ni-niki Stop there	Yuk-ka norl-tur No swallow
Na-ma-tung Make us good (from)	Ir-rk-tun Sickness
Nangul Dui-yung-ur (from) Blood sickness	
Mar-yalng-nao We can live good	Mar-tjin-naerao We can be healthy (no sick trouble)

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Native Interpretation.—The line of men which dances around the women huddled under the mats is the snake, and is also the two Wawilak women. The symbolic significance of the various men changes during the dance.—"When the men come out into the camp they are the two old Wawilak women at first. Then two Yiritja men at the side call out and then the line of dancers changes to proper

men. When they go around the women they are snakes. The two old women who beat the ground are those two old Wawilak women who beat the ground when Yurlunggur tried to swallow them. They are beating Muit. They tell those young people they can't eat every kind of food or they will get sick and maybe die and they will have sores on their bodies and rot away. The old women walk up and down and say, 'Muit, don't you come out any more and swallow these people. We are good people, we are clean.'" 852 535 773

Other accounts say that when the men come out of the ceremonial grounds in a line and dance toward the group of women they are the snake who has smelled the blood of the two old women because "They are painted in that blood [meaning they have the blood from a man's arm, which is the symbolical menstrual blood of the Wawilak women]. They paint their noses and over their eyes; when the snake swallowed the women he bit them and the blood came. This makes them Wongar women too."

"The snake calls out to all the other snakes and they come up and circle around the women. [See the Djungguan for a like interpretation.] The women are in their paper-bark house. When they take their mats off, that means they have stood up before the snake swallows them. The red ocher on their faces [the women's] is blood from where that snake bit them when they were swallowed. The two Yiritja snakes who call out are the spirits of the two children of the Wawilak women. They cry out and cry out." 852 773 382

"The presents the women give to the two [Yiritja] snakes go inside the two snakes. Those two women are inside the snake. These presents are swallowed by the snake just the same as those two women were swallowed by the snake before." The presents given by the women are kept by the Dua leaders of the ceremony, but not before they have been put on the snake emblem (i.e., given to Muit; see E 2 below). 852 773 431

E. The Yiritja Messengers Leave to Invite the Other Clans to the Ceremony 852

1. The two Yiritja snakes leave to invite the other clans to the ceremony.
2. A symbolic well is dug, which all the dancers enter after the dance sequence of Section C is repeated.
3. The messenger snakes are sent out again to announce Gunabibi, while Section D is repeated and the presents given to the snake by the women are displayed.

852 [The activities of the foregoing sections, largely preparatory, have involved only the home camp. The arrival of the visiting clans marks the beginning of the most significant phases of the Gunabibi.]

852 1. The men then leave and go back to their ceremonial camp. The
202 two Yiritja snakes are given a human hair string decorated with
211 parrot feathers and tipped with white cockatoo feathers. It is a ceremonial "message stick" and represents the snake. The men leave with the message and go to the other clans, inviting them to the ceremony.

[535] 2. Meanwhile the song and dance cycle of Section C 3 is gone through, starting with the unmated male sea gull and ending with the four Muits. At the same time a large round hole is dug in the men's ceremonial grounds by the members of the Yiritja moiety. All the animals, birds and plants which dance get in the well with the two Yiritja snakes. In theory the two snakes leave with a message stick; but in practice this seldom happens, unless they go to nearby clans. They wait until the end of the ceremony, centered around the taboo hole, before departing; or if they do leave, two other men enact the rôles of the Yiritja snakes. The leader sings over them, and they all dance in the well as one people.

852 A month has supposedly gone by since the departure of the messengers, and the moon is once more new. Once again the men put bushes under their arms, carry lighted torches, leave their own ceremonial ground, and dance out near the women's ground, where
●[431] they surround the group of women. The old women repeat their previous performance. Gifts are again made by the women.

All the men, including the two Yiritja snakes carrying the presents made by the women, return to the men's camp again. A forked stick railing is placed around the taboo well and the gifts are hung on it. The Dua leaders of the Gunabibi ceremony keep the gifts after this offering has been made to Muit.

852 3. The two Yiritja snakes and the initiated son or younger brother
202 of the leader of the Gunabibi (in other words, two Yiritja moiety men and one Dua moiety man) are given a mandelprindi and told to go to all the clans and tell them they are ready for the final phases of the ceremony. The Yiritja snakes are sometimes spoken of as the waku of Yurlunggur, and the son of the leader is "all the same as the snake. He can't sing out, but the Yiritja snakes do it for him." The Yiritja men whirl the bull roarer outside the camps of the various clans as a signal that the final dance will start and also as an invitation and virtual command for all who hear to appear.

At the various camps messengers supposedly go through some of

surrounded with grass and covered with paper bark. The bark is cov- 852
ered with human blood, on which is pasted birds' down or bush cotton, 778
and on one yermerlindi a representation of Muit is painted in human [532]
blood against the white-feather or cotton background. This yermerlindi is another emblem of the rock python totem. The other is called a palm tree emblem, but it is known to be a python totem too, for it has a snake design upon it. The two are stood up by the Yiritja men. They say to each other, "Oh! They are true Wongars [totemic spirits]." The leader sings a song to prevent sickness since the yermerlindi are very powerful because Muit is inside them.

2. The Yiritja camp, where the yermerlindi is made, although still 852
on the men's ceremonial ground, is placed at one side of the actual 778
dancing ground. No Dua man can go near it. The Dua leader asks 616
from time to time by circumlocution if the yermerlindi is made, even when the emblem is completed.

While the Yiritja are making the yermerlindi, the Dua men send [431]
presents of food to them for making the yermerlindi. The Yiritja men send the Dua presents of kangaroo fat and red ocher with which to paint the Yiritja dancers.

The Dua leader of the Gunabibi once more asks if the Yiritja have finished their work, and they reply that yermerlindi is ready. The leader says, "One day more and then we will dance with yermerlindi." The Yiritja never say that yermerlindi is ready until the two messengers have returned with the visitors.

3. Following the blue-tongued lizard dance which marks the end 852
of a phase of the ceremony, the Gunabibi pauses so the men may eat their evening meal.

Later in the evening the neophytes are placed on the raised ground on the concave side of the kartdjur. Two leaders now conduct the ceremony. A new phase of the Gunabibi has begun. A long shallow trench of some fifty feet is extended from one end of the kartdjur. The neophytes have bushes placed under their armpits. The Yiritja snakes and the Dua leaders put their own arm sweat on the eyes of all the initiates.

All those who are not dancing stand on the raised ground with the 852
chorus. Two dancers sing reed warbler in a small piping tone which 533
forms a ludicrous contrast to the heavy male chorus. The onlookers in
chorus appreciate the deliberate humor of the contrast. The clown ele- 522
ment, although not definitely and elaborately developed, is present in this part of the ceremony as well as later.

776 laid his head back and went straight to sleep. This story indicates again
781 how sure everyone is that the totemic spirit is about during the time of the ceremonies which celebrate his power.

H. The Ceremonial Exchange of Wives

852 1. Distant tribal brothers exchange wives.
786 2. The camp dance of the sexual pair and the exchange of gifts.
3. The night of ceremonial intercourse.

837 1. When the men from distant clans come in to see and participate in the Gunabibi ceremony, the older men, if they do not know their kinship to one another, work out their tribal relationships after much talk; this is mental exercise appreciated by all the more intelligent Murngin. When a local man discovers that a certain visitor from a far clan is his tribal brother, he sends his younger brother to inform this person that he may have the local man's wife for ceremonial copulation at the end of the Gunabibi ceremony. He sends presents along with
[431] the younger brother. The recipient, either through his own younger brother or through the messenger, offers his own wife in exchange, and also sends presents.

This exchange of wives for ceremonial intercourse at the close of the Gunabibi serves as the grand finale of the entire ceremony. As a consequence, it is considered very dangerous and is surrounded with a fairly intricate ritual.

The above is the formal and correct way of exchanging wives for ceremonial purposes, but there are several other methods. Sometimes men agree, without the intermediation of messengers, to exchange their wives. Sometimes a man and woman arrange matters without first gaining the consent of the women's husband; but without the final consent of the woman's spouse, this could not be recognized as legal procedure.

2. After the evening meal, and before the men return to the ceremonial grounds, they sit down in a half-circle around the fire and the women dance on the other side in front of them. The women and men
[292] wear circlets of fiber string around the head above the ears and across the forehead to indicate that the exchange arrangement has been made. While the women dance, various men arise, walk over to the women
[431] and hand them presents of food, red ocher, or some other object of value. The woman presented with such a gift is the one with whom arrangments have supposedly been made for ceremonial copulation.

The man who is the wife's partner later privately again gives her

The man who is the wife's partner later privately again gives her
presents of spears or tobacco, red ocher, and the ordinary presents that 852
are reciprocally exchanged. She accepts the present, keeps part of it,
and gives the rest to her husband. The natives, both men and women, 786
are much more interested in the ritual of giving and taking than in the 837
value of the presents, which is never very great. There is usually consid- 431
erable joking and amusement during this dance. Although intercourse
is not to be consummated between the ceremonial partners until the last night of the ceremony, and then only for ceremonial purposes, there are a considerable number of clandestine meetings between these mates before that time. This is recognized by all, even though it is not considered regular or entirely proper.

After a man has had sexual intercourse with another man's wife, the 852
latter male comes to him and puts his sweat on the legs and arms of 786
his wife's partner so that the one who has been with his wife won't be 837
"sick" from it. The position taken in the sexual act differs from the
customary one (see page 78) in that the woman sits on the ground on 833
the back of her buttocks. The trunk of the body leans back and at an angle from the legs, with the hands on the ground in back of the body to support it. The man puts his legs under hers and his hands around her so that the pudenda meet in closer contact than if he lay on her.

3. For the final occasion the men and women partners are heavily 852
painted. On this night one woman may have sexual relations with 786
several men because there is always a lack of women in the group
attending the ceremony. If a woman shows a dislike for her ceremonial 837
partner and refuses to join him, she is told she will be ill and make her 626
husband and ceremonial mate ill, and she is forced to comply with her husband's demand. If a man refuses, the woman sends word that Muit will make him ill, and that she too will be sick.

Native Interpretation.—The ceremonial exchange of wives and par- 852
ticipation in ritual intercourse is thought to be absolutely obligatory 786
on the men and women. When a man or woman objects, the older 837
men insist, as does the partner, that the person must do this or "Muit
will make him ill" and the partner will become ill too. In speaking of 773
the ceremonial sexual exchange I was told many times, "This makes everybody clean. It makes everyone's body good until next dry season."

The oldest leader of the Gunabibi in the area, in many ways the man best-informed on this ceremony, said to me, "Those two women [the Wawilak sisters], they walked down from the Wawilak country upon as the same by the natives. "Those bushes are put around a hole just the same as in the Djungguan. The two camps [dance grounds] are just the same as in the Djungguan."—"The tail [of the triangular dance ground] goes out by the women's camp. This means he has already swallowed those two women." (In the Djungguan the triangular ground also represents the snake after he has swallowed the two women. See page 273.) "The bushes are the two women who have been spewed out by the snake. They are [also] an ant bed on the ground where that snake first fell down at Mirrirmina." 884 773

When the women dance in their camp dance ground they are those two Wawilak sisters. The winding path which is made around the men's ground, and which of course surrounds the triangular dance ground as well as the bark house, is supposed to be the track of Muit when he was surrounding the two women; and the triangular dance ground always faces southeast because "that rock place at Mirrirmina looks that way."

When the snail-shell rattles appear it means that "the two women made this at Mirrirmina, and it was to show they were tired and near the finish of the dance." The snail-shell rattle is symbolical of marl-pin-pin (snail) itself. Its "inside meaning" is the garna, an ordinary wooden spear used by the women to stick in holes when looking for snails. [534]

The bark house is that made by the two women when they tried to avoid the rain and being swallowed by the snake. There is supposedly a depression in the rocks and ground at Mirrirmina where the women had their house in which they put all their ritual properties during the rain. The two women left in it their hair belts and opossum string, and all the tools, weapons, and implements used by modern Murngin men. They were left for and found by the Wawilak men.

H. The Snail-shell Rattle Dance

1. The men dance with the snail-shell rattles on the boundary of the men's and women's grounds. The women give them gifts of "clothing." 884 535 431

2. The spear-throwers with the snail-shell rattles attached are brought out toward the main camp by the men. All of the male members enter the camp except the messengers, who remain in the ceremonial grounds. As they approach, the men sing and dance Flood Water. They meet the women who have marched out from their own camp and stopped on the ground intermediate to the camps. The women have gathered from

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535 all the women of their camp, pubic coverings, head circlets, and all
431 other articles of adornment and clothing as presents for the men.

The line of men singing and dancing Flood Water call out "Wah! Wah!" as they dance, and are answered by the women with the usual cry of "Kait-ba! kait-ba!" The men's arms are covered with leaves, the women are not painted or decorated. When the men are facing the women and only a few feet away, they stick the spear-throwers with the snail-shell rattles into the ground. The women dance up to them, the old men accept the presents of clothing from them and tell them to start gathering palm food for the guests coming to the last part of the Ulmark. The men then return to their own grounds. The old men put the women's presents in the snake house.

882 *Native Interpretation.*—"Snail is just the same as snake," and also,
825 the snail was among the animals who ran away from the women. (See interpretation for Section K, page 323.)

I. The Messengers Leave Again

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1. The messengers announce the Ulmark again. Many of the earlier sections are redanced while they are away. The initiates are treated severely. Other dances are introduced.

1. Messengers are sent out to announce the final events of the Ulmark. While they are gone, first the usual cycle, from the Torres Straits pigeon through the various grub dances, is danced in the excavated snake ground. The men also dance the jig steps of the two old women, the old men sometimes holding firebrands in their hands like penises. They shake them in the faces of the neophytes to frighten them and to amuse the initiated. The old men always appear to be extremely angry with the boys who are under initiation.

Then the clowns paint themselves to represent centipedes. They also dance the kangaroo leap-frog sequence and the line of men with spears in their arms. The little boys who are being initiated are forced to stay awake and watch this performance. The men swear at them unless they give complete attention to the ceremony. These last dances, which are not part of the cycle, are done not in the snake hole (excavated triangular dance ground) but some little distance away on the first triangular dance ground constructed earlier in the ceremony (Section D). They also dance a large flying insect (Di-kar) that comes just before the rain time, followed by a black butterfly (Burn-ba) dance, and a red butterfly dance.

age-grade sense. Their beards demonstrate their belonging to the mature 796
men's age grade. The red parrot feather decoration on the 773
beards helps to ritualize this symbol of manliness.)

J. The Higher Totems Are Shown the Older Men

1. The old men leave the young men and show their higher totems 796
to each other. 535

1. Following the ceremony of showing the totems to the older 561
young men, who represent an age-grade stratum of the male division
of the tribe higher than the recently initiated boys, iguana is repeated;
then follows the sea-water dance which has been described, and
finally iguana, with the usual conventional ending of "benbur benbur."

Only the older men see the higher rangas. The young men are left 796
and the older men go inside the bush to look at the rangas which only 561
they are allowed to see. The string is taken off all the totemic emblems 431
at this time. This string is presented to members of the opposite
moiety, or very frequently, as has been said before, kutara gives it to 616
mari and mari to kutara (they are of the same moiety) as a demonstration
of the solidarity of their relationship. If people who are somewhat distant, therefore a bit strange, ask for this ranga string, it arouses a considerable feeling of antagonism in the owner. It is usually said, "Have people lost their heads? Can't they think? We will just give them ordinary food later. We won't give them string."—"If they are very good friends we can give them food, but the food is not given a power name."

K. The Eating of the Sacred Bread, and Conclusion of the Ceremony 796

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1. The bread is eaten by those of near kin.
2. The string is removed from the emblems and the neophytes are 594
Instructed.

1. The leader sings over the palm bread (or yams) which is put in the ashes and cooked. He calls out the totem names of the various rangas (kookaburra, banitja, etc.). This is supposed to infuse the bread with the power names of the rangas and make it "just the same as a ranga," which means that the totemic spirit resides within the bread. Only the men who understand can eat this, which means only the men who are near relations and who have been initiated.

The Murngin always eat in this way after all ceremonies. To outside tribes the people say, "This is maraiin that belongs to the Narra,"

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trumpet is brought out and accompanies the singing sticks in the songs.

(13) Yurlunggur.

All the songs before this were the garma variety and could be sung in the general camp. Now the leader takes up the Djungguan song itself. Yurlunggur is blown over the bones just as over the initiates in the Djungguan ceremony. "Yurlunggur is trying to take the dead man's spirit to the totem well. 'You can come to me now,' he says."

765 While Yurlunggur has been trumpeting, the dué and galle (male) have tied up the bones in a paper-bark bundle. They take the bones and leave them back in the bush. They make a camp for themselves a short distance from the main camp and construct a special bush house in which to place the bones. Later—there is no specified interval of time—these relatives bring the bones back to the edge of the camp. Yurlunggur is supposed to come with them, which means that the totemic trumpet is brought out. The leader pours water on the two men (dué and galle), then covers them with red ocher. While this occurs, a new sequence of songs is sung:

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(1) Basket (that which is used for the bones).
(2) Tree (wood used for rangas).
(3) Mangrove where the catfish makes his spears.
(4) Catfish (bartna).
(5) Small fish again.
(6) Fresh water for washing.
(7) River water.
(8) The log trap placed in rivers for catching fish.

It is at this point that the men are painted with red ocher.

765 During the period in which the bones are left in the bush the women are told that the snake has swallowed them and taken them away with him. They are not told that the bones are in the hands of the men until the bones are turned over to the women to be carried by them until final disposal.

[783] The bath and red ocher for the men who have cleaned the bones and kept them in the bush are not only to take away the stench from the men, but also to remove their ceremonial uncleanliness. The parents of the dead [431] always ask these relatives to perform the service of cleaning and keeping the bones, and in return for this service they give presents. The presents usually are the best, which means that the ranga is given. It will be noticed that the two, dué and galle, belong to one moiety and the dead man and his parents to the other; the exchange of services is across the moiety line.

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The stench of the body which is upon the dué and galle is not different from the sweat of a living man and just the same as the spirit itself. If

796 this time are forbidden to women, and relating all the incidents that directly refer to the Wauwalak, for example, the pregnancy of the elder sister, the flow of afterbirth blood, and the menstruation of the young girl.

The *jiritja* snakes call out, and are answered by the women; and nearby the bullroarer is twirled again. Then the dancing men file around the *ngainmara*-covered women, the leader beating his sticks and singing; the young boys are present. The women have brought presents of food, which are handed over to the *jiritja* snakes and their companions.

The dancing men symbolize Julunggul surrounding the women (the Wauwalak in their *murlk*); but these are not swallowed, because none are menstruating or have after-birth blood. "The men dancing around are smelling, but they smell no odour of blood."

796 574 About this time, visitors from surrounding territories reach the Kunapipi camp; and the foregoing rituals, that serve as introduction to the ceremony as a whole, are completed. Some of them, however, are repeated, both at the sacred ground and at the main camp; important features are the men's dancing around the *ngainmara*- [431] covered women, and the giving of presents, which are taken back to the ceremonial ground and offered first to Julunggul (for his swallowing) before being eaten.

796 536 On the sacred ground the *jiritja* men dig a large hole (*nanggaru* or *nonggaru*, billabong) representing Muruwul; all the animals, birds, and vegetables, in the guise of totemic actors, climb into it and dance, just as did those which "ran away" from the Wauwalak. Two other holes are dug, and in each hole squats a man; one, covered with paperbark, represents the female child of the elder sister, while another actor squats outside the hole as the mother. In the second hole is the younger sister, who is menstruating. The "child" in the hole cries, and the "mother" moves around it; then both the "sisters" leave their positions and dance like the Wauwalak. A number of these totemic animals and so on, particularly the opossum, form pairs (male and female) and enter the *nanggaru* (Muruwul), where they simulate coitus.

A number of actors, representing opossums, dance forward [831] around the *nanggaru*; the males have long erect bark penes protruding from their hair-belts. They enact the copulation of these animals. [881] All these dances are accompanied by singing and beating of sticks, and the young boys going through this ceremony are shown each one and told its significance. On the conclusion of the dancing, every morning and evening, *bukali* (*dua*) or *bukaliliji* (*jiritja*), depending on the singing, are called by the leader. Men crouch together while the *bukali* "power" names are called in reference to the totemic beings, and at intervals they shout. [These "power" names, being sacred terms (although there are secular power names too) are in the manner

796 On the final night, the Kitjin and the *ngamamali* dancing are
repeated. The Kunapipi partners are ochred and heavily greased.
786 The men sing and the women dance. As the singing and dancing continue,
835 a man will rise and go over to his partner, take her by the arm,
and lead her into the bush for sexual intercourse. One by one the
men stand and take their partners into the surrounding shadows;
and since there are usually fewer women than men, some women
may have coitus a number of times. Men too may, if they choose,
have coitus more than once during the night, either with the same
partner, or with another woman whose husband has already been
[431] approached, and presents exchanged. Women, at this time, stimulated
by days of anticipation, take a special pride in the number of
men who copulate with them. After a man has had sexual intercourse
[783] with a woman, her husband comes to him and rubs his sweat
on the man's legs and arms, so that he will not become ill from this
ritual behaviour.

There are several variations in the above pattern of ceremonial
796 copulation, and we mention the two most important. While the
dancing is in progress, the Kunapipi sexual partners may retire to a
786 specially constructed shade or hut (which is the *murlk* of the Wauwalak)
345 and have coitus. The woman either remains in the hut to
837 receive other men, or returns to the dancing. Should there be more
men than women at the ceremony, the woman will most likely remain
in the hut for the evening, accepting one man after another. In this
case, there may be several "huts" or windbreaks near the sacred
ground, each woman taking possession of one. (Not all the female
dancers retire to these huts; as mentioned, there are some who do
not have partners.) This conforms more to the pattern of ceremonial
copulation in the Roper River Kunapipi.

The second variation is in the manner of ceremonial copulation
796 (the *ka'rangara*) throughout central-western Northern Territory.
786 After the dancing, the women form two rows, according to their
moieties, on the sacred ground; they are slightly apart from, though
837 alongside each other. All lie down and assume a position ready for
coitus. Their male partners dance forward and take positions before
one line of women, while on the opposite side another row of men
dances into the ground and stands in front of the other line. The men
have their backs to one another, and their two rows are between the
two rows of women; this arrangement prevents husbands from
watching their wives. Then the men begin to have intercourse, some
awaiting their turn. When a man has finished he goes to one side

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[833] himself above the woman, or inserts paper-bark between their bodies. It is said that the sweat of the woman is possessed of great potency which, if transferred to the man, will cause him harm (that is, affect the specific sacredness of the act). However, this is not found in the north-eastern Arnhem Land area.

796 neophytes, and, 2, those shown only to the older, fully initiated men who are intimately acquainted with all phases of the *nara* and of the Djanggawul doctrine. These latter rituals, involving meditation and theological discussions, are the most impressive of all. At this time, too, the sacred feathered string is removed and
[616 presented to members of the opposite moiety, as well as to younger
431] members in the right line of descent from the ceremonial leaders; that is, a *gudara* (sister's daughter's son) gives to a *mari* (mother's mother's brother) or vice versa.

796 *j*. This is followed, soon afterwards, by sacramental eating of the sacred cycad palm nut 'bread'. All the preparation of this
778 'bread' has been undertaken by the women. It is taken out to the sacred ground where it is sung over, and the sacred *bugali* invoked. All the *bugali* of the country through which the Djanggawul passed, as well as their *rangga*, are called. The actual partaking of the 'bread' may be accompanied by the removal of feathered strings from the *rangga* emblems. This symbolizes the meeting of the Djanggawul with Buralindjingu at Dambojowoi (*vide* myth) when, after the Sisters had had their clitorises foreshortened (that is, the removing of the feathered strings from the *rangga*), they were treated as *galibingu* novices, and palm nut 'bread' was eaten sacramentally. But sacred 'bread' has an additional significance. It is a symbol of all food resources; and when the sacred *bugali* are invoked over it, it becomes possessed of a sacred quality which approximates it to a *rangga* emblem. The eating of it (as a *rangga* emblem) means that initiates are absorbing the sacred qualities of their *rangga* becoming themselves 'more *rangga*', more fully absorbed into the Djanggawul ideology. Symbolically they enter (*rangga* = people) the uteri of the Sisters, so that they may subsequently be re-born, when they leave the sacred ground and terminate the *nara*. The eating of the bread creates a strong sacred bond of friendship between all participants: they become as one.

There are, however, many restrictions relating to the eating of this bread. Not all initiates eat from the same bread, but all those eating must be closely related to one another; for *bugali* names have been 'sung' into the bread, and their power remains in it, and cannot be indiscriminately passed around.

796 After final painting of initiates' bodies, the *nara* is brought to a close.

796 We see from these examples that ritual is the outward expression of the Djanggawul myth. It is primarily a re-enactment of the
182 principal features of the Brother and Sisters' original journey through north-eastern and north-central Arnhem Land, and an

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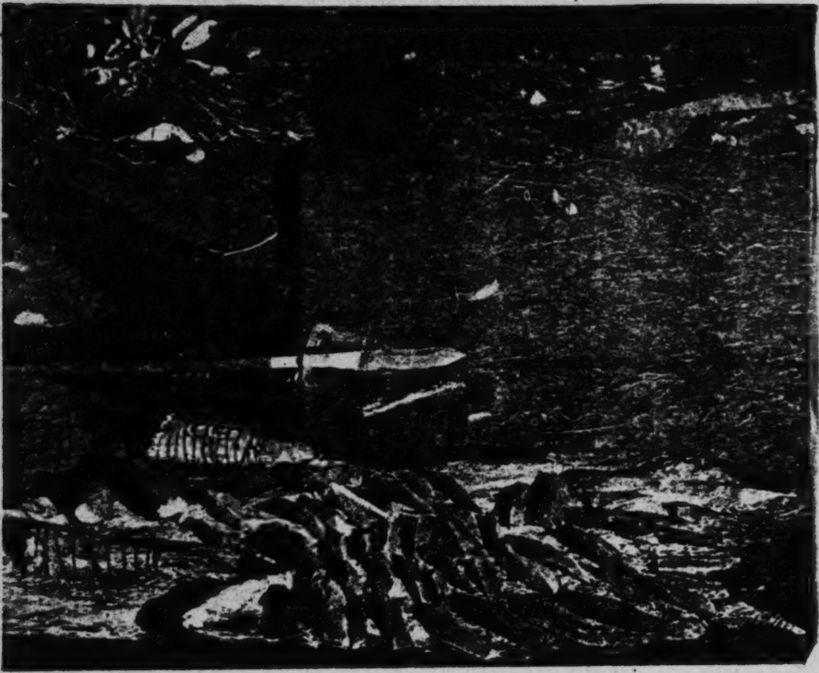

Plate 1. A craftsman at ŋillipidji, the far-famed stone spear quarry in the hinterland of Blue Mud Bay, examining flint spear heads called ŋămbi. These spear heads are encased in a special sheath of paperbark (*Melaleuca*) to which the name *djalk* is applied, which gives its name to *kumur djalk*, the quarter in the ceremonial exchange cycle from which most of these fine spear heads enter North and Central Arnhem Land. On the left are two bundles each containing about a dozen ŋămbi, neatly wrapped in paperbark, ready for transport inland for *wetj*, as goodwill presents for partners within the ceremonial exchange cycle. The smooth stone implements on the left are the hammer stones used by the spear maker to strike off flakes from a core of flint dug out of the quarry.

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602 more than a mere term of address, and carries with it a
431 definite pattern of behaviour. It is well known that the giv-
602 ing or exchange of presents establishes or affirms a bond between individuals. When an aborigine meets a relation of a certain order, for example a person to whom, under the classificatory system, he extends the term brother, he may have an obligation to make a present to him. If it happens that his only available wealth is a shirt or a pair of trousers he will hand these over to discharge his obligation, receiving a gift in return, which may chance to be a ragged shirt or a tattered, worn-out pair of trousers. The important point is that a gift has been exchanged and reciprocal obligations discharged. If one man should happen to be the loser, in the economic sense, this is of little moment. The transaction is in no sense barter or exchange; it is a gift pure and simple, without any assessment of value, and with no deliberate *economic* import, in response to a *social* obligation laid down by the kinship structure into which every man is born. One of the men has given a present to the other. Failure to reciprocate would lay the recipient open to a charge of meanness, and what is even worse, he would lose face, and would in any case remain under an obligation to repay the gift at some future date.

121 The purpose of the present communication is to give an
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431 account of the basic economic structure and organisation

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[601] modification of the pattern applied to their own actual fathers and
[602] mothers.

The kinship organisation provides also for the old and the sick, who are fed and cared for, not as a charge on the society, but by their own kin, who accept the responsibility without question as part of the pattern of life in which they have grown up. Cruelty or neglect of old people and children is unknown among the people of Arnhem Land.

[121] 177 431

of the natives of North-eastern Arnhem Land, and to show how the impact upon these primitive hunting people of a virile culture from Indonesia, which has probably occurred only during the past two hundred years, has stimulated a remarkable ceremonial exchange cycle so that goods were passed far inland from the coast, while others were drawn from places hundreds of miles to the southward. This cycle, though in itself primarily social and not economic, supplies the motive force, the "drive", under cover of which an elaborate system of *ceremonial exchange* has been developed. This in turn furnishes the mechanism for the circulation of wealth or *gerri* (applied collectively to "goods" or "possessions", to material wealth), that would have been restricted, or at least rendered difficult, by the social structure of these people without the influence of the culture from Indonesia.[5]

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[171] 619 721

[5] The fact that ceremonial exchange systems appear to have been widespread in Australia has been pointed out (see page 2). But the special type of local organisation which occurred in Arnhem Land, combined with the war-like reputation enjoyed by these people, would have tended to restrict communication. A remarkable feature of the social organisation of Arnhem Land north of a line from Bennet Bay and east of Cape Stewart, is the absence of any tribal organisation. The absence of tribal organisation to provide a basis for a wider solidarity, such as exists in neighbouring territories, has tended, as is shown on pages 9 to 13, to foster an intense internal solidarity within the clan, and within the larger group which consists of an aggregation of clans, called *mälla*; and thus to intensify the opposition with other groups. The effect of this social organisation, which was probably unstable, seems to be reflected in the intense and bitter rivalry and almost constant fighting, which raged among the hordes in far Eastern Arnhem Land, and which was responsible for many deaths. These are not conditions which encourage free intercourse and communication between groups widely separated, and although an extensive ceremonial exchange system undoubtedly existed long before visitors from the

[121] 177 Before discussing the effect of the ceremonial exchange cycle which was greatly stimulated by the impact of this dynamic force—the infiltration of Indonesian culture—upon the relatively simple culture pattern of these people, I shall describe in outline the typical culture of this area. It can be shown that in their own culture pattern, before the impact of Malay or proto-Malay culture, the natives of Arnhem Land already possessed the essential elements of a simple economic structure, with recognition of "value" and "wealth", the beginnings of the development of craft specialisation, mechanisms for the organisation of work and the carrying out of communal enterprises, and very definite ideas about the division of labour.

174 It is not possible to state with certainty when the first contact with the Indonesian visitors commenced, but in 1803 Matthew Flinders[8] learned from the crews of Malay praus whom he met on the north coast, that sixty praus, with a total of 1000 men, all from the Gulf of Boni in the Celebes, were on the coast of Arnhem Land at one time and were engaged in fishing for trepang. Although some of these people informed Flinders that they had visited the coast for the first time only twenty years before, and that they were then among the first of their people to do so,

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177 ●431 619 721 Celebes came to Arnhem Land, it is probable that the *gerri* introduced by these visitors did much to overcome the effects of the segmentary organisation and to infuse life and vitality into the ceremonial exchange cycle which developed on a large scale in this territory. One of the aims of this paper is to show how the impact of this virile Indonesian culture may have overcome the effects of the intensely *segmentary* organisation. This effect of the ceremonial exchange cycle on social organisation is discussed in detail at a later stage in this paper.

[8] Matthew Flinders, *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, Vol. 2, 1814, pp. 228-233.

live in the single men's camp. The brother-sister tabu, which 262
is very strict, now comes into operation, and his sisters as 431●
well as his mother are prohibited from eating any of the 593
game that he kills and which is now known by a special 602
term, *kälŋboi*. But he still receives vegetable food from 883
his mother and from certain other female relatives which he reciprocates with gifts of fish, honey or "sugar bag" and any other food the eating of which is not restricted by *külŋboi* tabus. Later as he acquires status and the tabus upon the game he kills are removed or relaxed, he will make regular reciprocal gifts of animal food to his *ŋandi* and to the other female relatives upon whom, prior to his marriage, he was dependent for vegetable food.

The division of labour is well-marked. The chief task of 222
the woman, besides the bearing of children, is the collection 462
and preparation of vegetable food and of shellfish, as well as such small game as rats, bandicoots, opossums and *kuku*, "sugar bag", the honey of the small black native bee (*Trigona* spp.), as she may glean by the way. Each woman works [594
for her own family group—her husband and children— 602]
but some of the food that she obtains may also be sent to relatives to whom she has obligations defined by kinship.
Others again may be prohibited from partaking of this 222
food because of their kinship or other status at certain 262
stages of their own or the woman's relationship to the [602]
society. Most of the food obtained by a woman during men- [841]
struation is tabu to certain relatives—particularly to her brothers. Contrary to the general idea the main food supply among aborigines, except at certain restricted seasons of the year, is not animal, but vegetable, and in Arnhem Land upwards of sixty food plants are known. Some of these are local and are obtained more or less casually and in small quantity. But a comparatively small number, which

224 kinship, with due regard to certain ritual observances, such
262 as restrictions and tabus. The game may then be warmed
602 on the hot embers, and shared out among those members
of the family who are permitted to eat it, that is, among those
whose status in relation to the social group, in initiation, or
to the man who killed the kangaroo, does not place him or
[778 her under a tabu. The flesh of any kangaroo or other game
which is killed with a spear or other weapon which is
yarkomirri (lit. "having a name") that is, which has been
dedicated to a sacred clan totem, is also sacred, and may
be eaten only by members of the restricted group comprising
the fully initiated members of the clan. On these occasions
[887 when the food or game is tabu, the division of the quarry
616] is in the hands of the old men of the clan, or more particularly, the men who apply the term *ŋandi* (mother)—
reciprocal term *wäkku*—to the clan concerned, to whom
it is *yindipulo*. The traditional rights of these men take
precedence even over those of the hunters who killed the
quarry. The men who officiate in these divisions of food or
game, as on most ceremonial occasions, are by kinship
status necessarily members of the opposite moiety.

● 431 In addition to hunting, and to the elaborate and exacting
462 ceremonial life in which every man plays a part, and which
occupies much of his time, he must make and maintain
his own spears, spear-throwers and fighting weapons. It
will be seen later, that a man may actually acquire some
of his spears and other weapons as gifts by ceremonial
exchange. But as he also incurs an obligation to send spears
[461] to others within this system, such gifts do not actually
relieve him either of the work or the responsibility of spear-making, but rather give him an incentive, an urge, to work
and to devote the necessary time to the manufacture of fine
weapons in order to maintain his prestige within the
CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE SYSTEM.

461 Apart from the material for the making of spears and
462 spear-throwers, and the woven baskets for carrying fire-sticks and other possessions, each man gradually collects, incidentally, as he hunts, the raw materials used for
[237] ceremonial purposes, such as the orange-red breast feathers of the Red-collared Lorikeet[14] and the fur of the Brush-tailed Opossum (*Trichosurus vulpecula arnhemensis*). Every man
● [431] thus strives to accumulate articles of value, possessions or *gerri* (see page 5), of the appropriate type, which he will send later to relatives of certain orders within the intricate exchange cycle in which he has a place (pp. 67-68). The need to build up a reserve of *gerri* for use within the exchange cycle supplies still another incentive, or urge, to work, and so to be ready to meet these obligations. A man, therefore, must necessarily spend most of his waking time in working. As a craftsman the aborigine is neat, tidy and efficient, but he follows traditional methods and techniques closely, because they form part of the culture pattern into which he is born, and which is for him a heritage from ancestral times.

512 Let us look at the camp of a typical horde of Arnhem Land in the early morning, in order to get some understanding of the way in which these people live, and a picture of the daily routine of hunting and the organisation of work.
[361] The camp is situated generally on high or well-drained ground, and in the dry season is merely a cluster of fires, perhaps with a low breakwind on the windward side, each fire marking the camp of a family, or of a group of single men. In the early south-east season, during the months of

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[14] These rich orange-red feathers of the Red-collared Lorikeet (*Trichoglossus rubritorquis*) are used chiefly by clans of *dua* moiety for the ornamentation of the sacred *raŋga*, and are called *tjukurr*, literally "fat".

is no pooling of resources; each collects food independently, 222
working for her own family or family group. And again, 512
as they travel, the women gather any materials they chance
to find which may be of use later, in technology. In this 222
way the people accumulate a reserve of string, fibre, (in 237
various stages of manufacture), resin, bone for making of 314
yam knives and awls, for domestic use, or for canoe and 512
bark trough manufacture, and all the materials regularly
used in technology. These are carried in the *büti*, generally [472]
in the form of neat parcels wrapped in *bärruḳälla*
(*Melaleuca* bark). When the men make a chance visit to [431]
an area famed for its spear woods, pigments, or other [317]
special material, they gather this and carry it in reserve, for
later gift or exchange purposes. Similarly, feathers or down
(*rämmän*) of birds are collected, and *bulnyin*, the fur of
the Brush-tailed Possum, which is valued also for ceremonial purposes, is stripped before the animal is cooked.
The spines (*dimir*) of stingrays are also extracted and all
materials useful for technological and ceremonial purposes
are removed while an animal is being prepared, wrapped
in neat parcels in paperbark and placed in the dilly bag
until required for use. As this material is generally carried 461
by the natives in their baskets when they are hunting, they
are able to make use of any moments of leisure during a
halt, or while food is being cooked, to repair and maintain
implements and utensils.

Certain materials, particularly the fat of *ḳärritjämbäl* the 237
Red Kangaroo, and of a few other animals, and the fat and [435]
feathers of some birds, chief of which are the Emu, Plain 778
Turkey or Bustard, the Jabiru and Native Companion,
which are difficult to approach, have a high "social value"
and are greatly prized. These materials have a ritual sig-

tribution of food to the group, to make payments, to give 182
and return presents of food and objects of value, depends 461
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his reputation as a man, his prestige, his feeling of success [602]
as a human being.

Again, a successful hunter, especially one who has achieved renown in the pursuit of animals that are difficult to kill and which thus acquire a high social value, earns the title of *tjämbait*, while a woman renowned as a food gatherer is *bärtatumoro*. These titles are greatly coveted, and the right to them confers a considerable amount of prestige. If a man is called *tjämbait* to his face he will flush with embarrassment and pleasure, passing it off with a disclaimer, "*ŋärra bordin*", literally, "I am quiet" (non-aggressive), but no man would wish to be stigmatised as *tjämbaitmiru*[17]—without prowess in hunting. It would be an intolerable humiliation, a blow to his pride and prestige, to his sentiments as a successful human being.

I remember often when coming in from the hills after hunting wallaroo and Red Kangaroo, being greeted by a man who would say to me in the curious, stilted, artificial sing-song voice they reserve for these things, "Eh! *Wa'wa tjämbait*!" "Ah! my elder brother *tjämbait*!" "Well done, my brother." That, among a renowned hunting people, who live by the spear, is a proud title.

The kinship pattern is a system of obligations and counter 182
431F ●
obligations, and even if he is content merely to discharge 461
these to the extent necessary to maintain his prestige, a man [554]
must necessarily work hard. To receive gifts of food and 602
other presents which demand return gifts, and not to
reciprocate, places a man under an obligation, which to a
normal individual is an unbearable blow to his pride.

And these obligations are not confined to members of

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[17] *-miru*, suffix meaning without, lacking.

182 a man's or woman's own horde with whom he or she comes
●431 into daily contact. They extend also to members of
461 other hordes and are emphasised strongly on occasions
602 when people from distant groups to whom the kinship
[574] organisation is extended, come as visitors. For a young
man, such obligations are intense, and to discharge them
he is obliged to keep up an almost continuous stream of
presents, which entails constant work.

182 With each successive stage of initiation it is obligatory
431 for him to make gifts to the old men of the clan group into
461 626 which he is being initiated. This may become very irksome
561 and may even reach a stage when no matter how hard he
works he is unable completely to discharge all his obligations,
so laying himself open to the fear of reprisals, such as
[754] visitation by *ḵälḵa* (sorcerers who kill by the use of magic)
or by other agencies. Fear of the use of secret methods of
reprisal is a very real one, and provides, for a man, one of
the strongest inducements to work, to keep pace with his
obligations, and so to give no cause for resentment.

431 In those ceremonies such as the *ḵunabibbi* and *ŋulmarḵ*
561 796 which transcend clan and tribal boundaries, and are not
614 restricted to, or regarded as the proprietary right of, a
778 small group such as a clan, but are practised widely throughout
the territory, these obligations are less onerous. In
others, of the type called *märdai'in,* the initiation ceremonies
carried out by each clan or group of clans sharing
the same totems, at which its sacred totems are revealed,
the burden of the gifts or payments is a heavy one. The
internal solidarity of these small groups is intense, and
their *märdai'in* or *räŋga*—the secret name for the objects
which represent the *mälli,* the "shade" or "spirit" of the
totemic ancestors themselves—are jealously guarded. These
räŋga are very sacred and are regarded as dangerous to the

uninitiated because they are endowed with a force called 431 561
marr (*mana*)[18], and large presentations of food and *gerri* are 614
obligatory to all those to whom these *räŋga* have been 778 796
revealed and who thus share in the solidarity of the group.

Such obligations recur at every stage in each initiation, and following upon each ceremony a man must make a big ceremonial presentation of objects of value, *gerri*, such as fine spears, belts of human hair and especially gifts of the type that are appropriate to the geographical quarter (*ķumur*, page 67), within the ceremonial exchange cycle in which his clan territory lies.

If a man comes from a group some distance away, and 431
the occasion is an important one, a dugout canoe (*lippa* 554
lippa) may be presented. This is a big gift and highly [435]
valued. It is important to realise that there is no attempt
to assess the value of these things but rather to create a
feeling of goodwill, to leave behind a good impression,
which a man knows will enhance his prestige and react
in his favour in future transactions. He knows also that he
builds up goodwill by a reputation for generosity and that
this in turn may mean that he will be selected as the [796]
recipient of the *wärna*, the armlets of opossum fur string [777]
or *lindiritj* (Lorikeet's feathers) and other paraphernalia

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[18] *Marr* is a kind of spiritual force or "power" very like the Polynesian concept of *mana*, which underlies social and ceremonial life. It occurs in all sacred objects and is the "force" or "power" which makes them dangerous to the uninitiated or profane and a source of strength and "power" to the fully initiated members of the clan or other organisation. *Marr* is not strength or power, danger or sacredness, alone, although it may be each and any of these things. It is the power which makes a *räŋga*, a totemic object, sacred, which makes a dead body dangerous, and which brings good or bad "luck" in hunting. *Marr* is the force which makes a man *tjämbait*, *i.e.* successful or "lucky" in the pursuit of game.

431 554 [777] [796] which are stripped from the *räŋga* and presented to special individuals after the conclusion of the ceremony, and which carry *marr*, confer prestige on the recipient and bring him "good luck" (*tjümbait*) in hunting.

431 554 626 182 461 But in any case, failure to discharge the obligations which he incurs at these times would be unthinkable, for a man believes that he is in a state of danger from *marr* (*mana*), and that ritual visitation will follow if he does not propitiate the group concerned. On this account, and because he would suffer in prestige by failure to discharge these obligations, they are not incurred lightly. This was brought home to me vividly in Arnhem Land when Raiwälla of Mildjiŋi clan, a man who was with me for years, and who accompanied me everywhere, asked me not to take him with me when I was invited to *ŋarra* (*märdai'in*) ceremonies. He explained, in some distress, that because of his association with me, he had been invited to attend many more *ŋarra* than would normally have been the case and was incurring thereby obligations to make *tadoit* payments (page 40) of food and *gerri* (material wealth) which he would not be able to discharge. Although the people knew that he was far from his own territory and understood his position, and although they assured him that he need not make any return presentations, he would not accept this. If he had done so he would not only have been in danger from *marr*, which had not been returned with the ceremonial presentation food or *gerri*, but he would have lost
182 431 554 461 face and been placed in a position of inferiority. The urge, the "drive", furnished by these psychological attitudes in a fully organised aboriginal society are more forceful than any material urge. They far outweigh any desire to gain possessions and are the most important motive forces behind much of the hunting, and the organised and sustained work

which goes on. But while these obligations impose a heavy 182 431
burden, especially upon a young man who must attend a 461
long series of ceremonies with a vista of payments to be met, 554
the ceremonies in turn confer some benefit upon him, [796]
although this may be indirect. They carry increased social [561]
status and prestige which in turn bring gradual liberation from some of the irksome tabus which influence almost every act of a young man.

Although on these occasions the immediate burden of 182
gathering vegetable food falls on his female relatives, 431
especially upon his mother and sisters, this does not relieve 461
the initiate of his own personal obligations, but rather 561
intensifies them. He must now redouble his efforts in [593]
hunting to enable him in turn to supply his women relations with fish, kangaroo, "sugar bag" or wild honey, in order to retain their goodwill. A man's success as a hunter depends not only on his ability to stalk and his skill with the spear but also on his capacity to make, and to maintain in serviceable condition, his hunting weapons, his fishing lines and nets and sometimes also a canoe. So initiation, especially initiation into the jealously-guarded clan totems (*märdai'in*) of the small groups which characterise the social organisation of North-eastern Arnhem Land, with their intense solidarity and quick resentment,[10] sets up a long train of social obligations—each with a definite economic import—each requiring gift and counter gift, and furnishing the motive for work, the urge for production both of food and *gerri*.

[10] Just as generous presentations of *gerri* (material wealth) and [578]
ŋäta (food) promote goodwill, so tardiness in the discharge of these [628]
obligations may lead to avenging expeditions and interclan feuds.
A man who is unpopular, or who is notorious for his carelessness in [626]
these matters is more likely to be named as the victim when a scapegoat is sought to avenge a death or wrong.

431 Payments or gifts such as those made by a young man under these conditions are known as ***tadoit***, (***ta***, mouth, ***doit***, signifying return, turn around, turn back), and they occur on many occasions apart from initiation, in each of which, however, the obligations are similar.

765 Mourning and funeral rites among these people are
784 extremely prolonged and are surrounded by many tabus
and intricate patterns of obligatory conduct. The group
which handles the bones of the dead, which may be carried
for some years after they are removed from the ground
soon after the initial burial, are called *koŋ wukundi*, lit.
"hands tabu", and these people are placed temporarily
outside the normal social life of their hordes. Members of
such groups, which stand in a special relation to society,
[182] remain in the camp, but they live apart, and this is stressed
[252] by the fact that they maintain separate fires at which they
cook their own food, apart. But the tabu is not absolute
and others within the camp will occasionally take something, such as a firebrand to start another fire, from this
[431] *wukundi* (tabu) place. If this should occur the people who
take the fire will send back a small present of food in
return. This again is called *tadoit* (*vide infra*). If they should
omit to make this present they are in danger, after having
eaten food cooked at the *wukundi* fire, because they have
shared in the solidarity of a group, members of which are
linked by the bond of their special relationship with the
deceased and so are set apart temporarily from the normal
social life of the horde.

431 The bones of the dead are handled at intervals during
765 the prolonged mortuary rites, and each time this occurs,
182 the small group on whom falls the obligation of doing it,
makes presentations called ***koŋ doit*** and ***ta doit***. The

first phrase means "return from hands", i.e. from handling 431
the bones, the second "return from mouth". Payments in 764
each case are made to the other near relatives. This is a 182
ritual act and may be interpreted as a token "payment" or gesture in formal expiation of an infringement of the solidarity (the *marr*) of a group, members of which are bound together by the sharing of a special bond.

In the case of the ceremonial revelation of the jealously- 182
guarded sacred totemic objects of the clans, with their 431
intense solidarity, it was pointed out that the reciprocal 796
gifts required are substantial and exacting, and I have 778
shown that a considerable amount of organisation is required to enable a man to discharge these obligations.

But it must be remembered that there is also another side to these transactions to which reference has already been
made, and that a man not only gains greatly in prestige [554]
and social status, and increases the scope of the ceremonial exchange cycle in which every individual of standing plays a part, but above all, the *marr* or "spiritual power" from the successful conduct of these reacts directly upon all his other
activities. It assists him in hunting and brings him "good [777]
luck" (*tjämbait*) and as has been stated, it adds to his prestige, his social status.

A graphic illustration of the belief in the spiritual power 777
which reposes in the sacred *räŋga*, occurred while I was 778
living with these people. Immediately after the revelation 796
of the *räŋga*, a ceremony associated with the sun totem of a clan called Maräŋo, a young man went out turtle hunting in his canoe, and returned with four turtles. The old men credited the success of the expedition to "good luck" (*tjämbait*) and claimed that the "body", really the "skin" (*ḳälŋa*) of the young man was still covered with

777 the fine powdery dust (*künno*),[20] of the ceremonial ground,
778 and declared that the turtles were therefore "*yarkomirri*"
[796] (lit. "bearing a name", i.e. sacred). A rite was performed to
remove the tabu, before the flesh could be eaten by the
[431] uninitiated. Even then those people, other than members
of the totemic group, who ate the flesh, were called upon
to make a payment of the type previously described, called
tadoit, in this case to the fully initiated members.

182 Reference has been made to the obligation to hunt which
[461] a man incurs in order to provide animal food for the
431 women upon whom he must depend for the large quan-
[561] tities of food which he requires to meet the periodic
[796] ceremonial presentations which mark almost every stage
606 of initiation as well as the termination of each critical stage
604 in his life. This obligation is especially stressed in his
relationship with his *mukul rumaro*[21] (potential mother-

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[20] *Känno* is really ash, fine, white, powdery wood ash. This man was said to be "*kälŋa künnomirri*", "skin with ashes", because the white dust of the ceremonial ground was still on his body and carried its *marr*.

[601] [21] As this paper may be read by many economists who may not have anthropological training, some reference to the kinship system of the aborigines may be of assistance. Under the system which is called "classificatory", the terms of relationship allied to the family and to near kin are extended to a number of people with whom no actual genetic relationship can be traced but who are grouped or classified with own kin. A man applies the term "father" not only to his own father but to all the people his father calls "brother" and this system is extended indefinitely. These terms expressing relationship are used instead of personal names, as terms of address. This system has the effect of reducing greatly the number of actual terms in use. But kinship terms are not mere names, for each carries with it a set pattern of behaviour. In Arnhem Land a man applies the term *mukul rumaro* (mother-in-law) to the daughter of his mother's mother's brother. He knows that he may look to this woman to provide him with a wife or wives and the pattern of behaviour

in-law), and with the particular *ḳauwäl* (mother's 182
brother) who is the husband of this woman to whom he 431 ●
applies the term *muḳul*. Before the potential mother-in-law [604] 606
has a daughter, even before she is pregnant, he may begin to send her gifts of food. These progressive gifts have a cumulative effect and build up goodwill. They are divided into two series, to each of which a special name is applied. The first series are *milmarr*, while those given to the mother-in-law after the birth of a daughter are known by a different term, *mundur*. As my informant said, "that is hard work for me; she pays me back," i.e. by giving her daughter to me in marriage. They believe that this special form of giving has more than a "goodwill" effect, and that *marr*, the spiritual force or power to which I have referred, goes with the food, so that it has a greater significance than the white man would attach to it—and much greater than its
mere value as food. The same applies to the special cere- 182
monial gifts of food and *gerri* which are presented by the 431
novitiate at various stages during his initiation to clan totems 561
and to other cults. Implicit in this form of giving is the 626 796
feeling which is even more important than "goodwill", that
it places the recipient under an obligation to repay. To [554]
remain under such a debt is to accept a feeling of inferiority, of shame and humiliation.

In discussing the "drive", the urge to carry out the exact- 182
ing hard work (which in a fully organised aboriginal 431
society is everywhere in evidence) I have stressed the obli- 461 554
gation which a man feels to reciprocate with a gift of at 626

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toward *muḳul rumaro* is one of rigid avoidance. He may not speak to her nor she to him, but he has very definite obligations towards her (*muḳul rumaro*), including the obligation to provide her with certain animal food, with progressive gifts of a special type described above.

182 least equal, or if possible greater value, in order to maintain
● 431 his social status and to enhance his prestige. He achieves
461 554 this by his capacity to reciprocate a gift quickly and gener-
626 ously. If he failed to meet the obligations imposed, for
example by the kinship pattern, he would lose face, prestige,
in his group. It will be evident that this feeling of shame and
humiliation at failure to reciprocate a gift or to honour an
obligation, apart altogether from any danger of incurring
resentment and visitation by evil magic, furnishes one of the
most powerful mechanisms which underlie the production
of food and goods, and the circulation of these. This is
well shown by an example given to me by my informants,
which illustrates the use which can be made of this fact
262 to gain a desired objective. While a boy is still regarded as
562 a child, there is no tabu even for his sisters upon eating the
784 food that he may capture. But immediately after the circum-
cision ceremony, when his social status is altered and he
lives apart from his mother and father in the single men's
camp, the food collected or killed by a boy becomes tabu
to relations of certain orders, and is now known by a
special name, *kälŋboi* (*vide* page 21).

262 The eating of all *kälŋboi* food is surrounded by tabus,
431 784 even for those relatives who are permitted to partake of it at
606 all. For "outside" or "distant" relatives under the kinship sys-
584 tem to eat this *kälŋboi* food is a special privilege, but the
obligation to make ceremonial return payments, again of
the type called *tadoit*, is always present. *Kälŋboi* food may
sometimes be used to ingratiate a young man with a woman
who stands in the relationship of potential mother-in-law
(*mukul rumaro*) to him, but whose daughter has already
been promised (*wawun*) to another man some distance
away. At first the *mukul rumaro* may refuse the *kälŋboi*
food, but under coercion she may at length accept it, and

if she does so, is regarded as having compromised herself 262
into giving her daughter to the youth whose *kälŋboi* food 431
she has eaten, although she knows that a fight must follow 784
when the man to whom the girl rightfully belongs learns 584
what has happened. Having accepted the *kälŋboi* food the 606
woman also makes a ceremonial presentation of food which
she gives to her *korroŋ* (son-in-law), who however does not
eat it himself but distributes it to certain other relatives,
defined by custom.

This example will show the strength of the urge to reciprocate, to discharge an obligation, and the extent to which it dominates the behaviour of these people, as well as its importance as a driving force in social and in economic activities, in which it furnishes one of the most important incentives to work. 182 183 431 461

to, or association with, a totemic ancestor or a clan totem. 435
In the second category fall all things ordinary, non-sacred, 778
called *wäḳḳinŋu*, which in its literal translation means
rubbishy, uncouth, outlandish, but is used also to denote
merely the category of the non-sacred or "profane" in contrast
with *yarḳomirri*.

The first category, which comprises objects called *märdai'-inboi* 778
or *yarḳomirri*, includes such things as the fine ceremonial [431]
armlets made from material which has been removed
from the actual totem after the *ŋarra* ceremony, and
sent as gifts to friends in other clans. In addition, it includes
all weapons and implements, such as canoe-paddles, certain
spears, baskets of special type, and smoking pipes which
carry the *mintji*, the special totemic patterns of the clan, to
one of the totems of which they have been dedicated. This 778
dedication may take the form merely of the giving of the [552]
sacred name, after which the object becomes *yarḳomirri*, 784
or it may constitute a more elaborate ceremony in which 431
the *dälḳärramirri*—the "caller of big names"—in his capacity
of high priest, calls ceremonially over the object, the
sacred *därrpül* (hidden) names of the appropriate totem,
thereby consecrating it. Thenceforth it becomes sacred. It
is "*yarḳomirri*". If it is a spear, game killed with it becomes
duyu (tabu), if a canoe paddle, all food taken from the
canoe propelled by the paddle is also tabu. Its chief attribute
is that it possesses *marr*, spiritual power derived from the
totem or totemic ancestor whose name it bears. Its use is
prohibited to all but fully initiated men of the particular
clan (or associated group of clans) from which it came,
and in the case of the special, sacred *mintji* or painted designs,
may not even be looked upon by profane eyes. To 431
possess these objects carries prestige, and their *marr* imparts [554]
power and strength as well as *tjämbait*—hunting prowess, 777
778

● 431 "good luck" in hunting. They make the hunter *mel kärku-*
[777] *luk,* far seeing, (lit. eye-clear). Such objects are given regu-
778 larly to friends and to members of other clans, particularly
[604] to people who stand in the relationship of *wäkku* (son,
woman speaking: sister's son, man speaking) but although
they carry the obligation to make heavy ceremonial presentations in return, any idea of straight-out exchange—in the sense of economic equivalence, of barter or trade, in connection with things that are *yarkomirri,* is unthinkable.

784 Under certain circumstances, and after a lapse of time, a
778 rite may be performed to remove the tabu from these objects, particularly from canoe paddles, to enable the women and children to be fed on the fish or turtle secured from the canoe, after which they become *wäkkinŋu,* "ordinary" or non-sacred, and lose their *marr,* their "power" (to the initiated) and their "danger" (to the profane).

422 Objects of the *wäkkinŋu* type come under no such restric-
435 tions. In the category of the non-sacred are all a
[771] man's ordinary possessions, his spears and other weapons, canoe, fishing lines, nets, harpoons and all his personal equipment, and for a woman, her yam stick, domestic implements and utensils, her baskets—and in fact all her posses-
[562] sions. For no woman may possess or use any object which is *yarkomirri.*

000 In the foregoing account some of the incentives which lie behind the gathering of food and the manufacture of weapons and material objects have been described. A number of questions now arise. Does a man make all his own weapons and the implements which he requires for his own use, or does he acquire weapons from other people and in turn make them for others? If so, how are these exchanges made and on what terms; how are values assessed, payments made? Is the matter one of straight-out barter, the balancing

of one object against another? And again, are payments or return barter deferred, or is the matter settled always out of hand by simple exchange, on the spot? o-o-o

To understand this it is necessary to look into the whole system of exchange and of "payment" among these people, to live with them and to watch these things take place, to learn the basis of every exchange of property, above all, to record the actual terms applied by the natives themselves to each type of gift, exchange or other socio-economic transaction.

The ordinary word for giving is *gurrupän*. To take property or possessions without asking is *djauyun*, but *djauyunamirri*, to take from one another, to take one another's possessions, is used for actual exchange or barter. *Djauyun*, used without qualification, has almost the force of "steal", but a stronger word, *mänüŋirri*, (*mänüŋi*, imperative), is properly used for actual theft. 192 431 437

The following are the chief ways in which possessions change hands, with the names given by the people themselves to these transactions: 192 431

(1) *yanna gurrupän*, (lit. for nothing give), a goodwill present, a free gift without any *immediate* obligation to reciprocate. But some kind of return presentation is inseparable from almost any form of giving.[23] As my informants expressed it "you give me and I give you back but I no tell you"; i.e. when I receive a gift I do not say that I shall eventually reciprocate. It is not on a bargain or barter basis, and the reciprocal gift in this type of exchange may be delayed indefinitely.

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[23] This apparent anomaly will be better understood in the light of information which follows later in this paper. See especially the meaning of *wetj*, page 78.

192 431 The giver knows that his gift must be reciprocated eventually and he gains much satisfaction from the anticipation of this.

(2) *ḳännän gurrupän*, a free gift, pure and simple, without any reciprocal obligation, as between *gurruto* (relations) of certain orders, and *mulḳuro* (strangers), where there is a unilateral obligation to make presents. [574 609] To strangers, especially to visitors, it is customary, even obligatory, to make gifts of food or *gerri*, but as these people do not come within the normal kinship horizon there exists no established code of behaviour towards them and reciprocation is therefore not expected.[24]

(3) *baḳa bäḳmärämma*, (lit. tail break), i.e. "to turn back the tail", to reciprocate. A present with definite reciprocal obligation. This type of giving carries the obligation to make a return gift or payment at once, and is quite different from the vague and indefinite obligation which characterises gifts of the *yanna gurrupän* type.

[606] (4) *milmarr, bundur*, the name applied to special forms of cumulative giving of gifts to relatives of certain

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[24] The importance of discovering some bond between individuals in Arnhem Land society, in order to establish a code of behaviour, is stressed by the fact that those outside the kinship system are called *mulḳuro*, (strangers). When I asked a native who was short of tobacco if he had asked a certain white man he replied at once: "*Yuta bällända duall'—mulḳuro*". He is a new white man that one—a stranger (with the implication "and therefore one with whom I have no bond, towards whom I have no established pattern of behaviour"), that is, one whose reactions there is no means of predicting.

orders (mother-in-law and husband of mother-in- 192
law[25]) to build up goodwill, *märaŋguma*, lit. "to build 431 ●
up *marr*" (see page 37) and deliberately intended to [606]
leave a feeling of obligation (*vide supra* page 43).

(5) *buku djauyun*, straight-out exchange or barter, in 192
which one article is balanced against another. In Arn- 431
hem Land, where the ceremonial aspect even of trans- 437
actions in which commodities change hands, is
stressed, it is the "giving" that is the important mat-
ter, the rite, the gift and counter gift, rather than the
assessment of its value or equivalent (see below no. 6).

(6) *mälli*, buy or purchase. The idea of direct purchase 177
is foreign to the Arnhem Land socio-economic pat- 192
tern and probably owes its origin to the influence of 437
Indonesian culture. In former times the Macassar [648
voyagers arrived on the coast of Arnhem Land with 175]
the north-west monsoon and dispersed along the
coast to their regular fishing stations, vessels returning
again and again to the same areas which they had
visited in previous years and where they set up
depots on shore for the boiling and smoking of
bêche-de-mer or trepang.

The Macassar voyagers recognised the native ownership 427
of land, and the people say that they paid tribute each season 648
to the owners of the territories for the right to fish for tre-
pang and pearls. In referring to this *payment* by the Macas- [192]
sar visitors it is significant that the natives used the word
mälli. My informants stated that the natives themselves did
not actually work for the Macassar trepangers but occa-

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[25] The special status of this man as the recipient, depends chiefly upon the fact, not that he is *kauwäl* (mother's brother), but that he is the husband of *mukul rumaro*, wife's mother, actual or potential.

427 sionally, when men were short, they helped to make up the
648 crews of canoes which operated as tenders from the praus
in diving for trepang.

177 Today the word *mälli*, with this idea of "payment", is
192 used principally in connection with the manufacture of
437
501 wooden dugout canoes, and these form part of the culture
773 complex that was left as a legacy by the Indonesian visitors,
a fact which is stressed in mythology.[28]

● 431 A glance at the various types of transactions listed above,
437 in which property, or *gerri*, changes hands, and in which
the natives' own terms and classification have been used,
brings out the fact that in all but one the social or ceremonial aspect rather than the hard material or "commercial", the strictly economic, is stressed, and that in
only one is the idea of direct *payment* or recompense, para-
[463] mount. This is in the manufacture of the wooden dugout
canoe, *lippa lippa*, which, as will be seen in section 4, is the work of special craftsmen. Apart from receiving it as a gift, there are two principal ways of obtaining a canoe. The first is by employing a craftsman to cut it, the second, called "*täkkul koŋ gurrupän*", lit. "axe hand give", is to pay the craftsman by presenting him with a steel axe, which, after he has used it to cut the canoe, becomes his own property.

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[28] There is some tendency to assume that these wooden canoes were once manufactured with stone axes. Actually proof is not lacking of the fact that the *lippa lippa* (wooden dugout canoe) was part of the culture complex introduced by the visitors from Indonesia and that these canoes were never made in Australia until after the introduction of the iron axe. (This, however, does not apply to the seagoing dugout outrigger canoes of Eastern Cape York Peninsula, North Queensland, which were made with native shell adzes, but which had a separate origin.)

But in few cases where exchange of goods takes place is 431 ● the matter as simple as this. In almost all, the ceremonial 435 accompaniment is the important factor, and the exchange or trade, the hard, matter-of-fact, economic aspect of the transaction, is to the Arnhemlander, relatively unimportant. Reduced to the level of mere "commerce"—the exchange of commodities, their value balanced against one another, shorn of the vital ceremonial, the transaction loses much of its meaning and interest to the native. To him it is the prep- [181] aration for a visit to relatives within the ceremonial exchange cycle to discharge his obligations, the journey, the ritual, the formalities to be observed on arriving at the camp, the niceties of behaviour and etiquette, rather than the actual *gerri*, the goods themselves, that he values. So that in any appreciation of the economic life and exchange system of these people, in any study of their production of wealth and distribution or circulation of objects of material value, due regard must be placed on the psychological and social attitudes, which dominate and often mask and obscure, the undercurrent of economic exchange. Yet inside the framework of the kinship system and the clan organisation, within the exacting totemic scheme, each man carries on a system of exchange of *gerri*, of gift and counter gift, so that he is obliged to spend much of his working life in preparations to discharge obligations imposed upon him by the system into which he is born.

But in spite of this stress on the *traditional*, on the 421 ritual and ceremonial aspects, the emphasis on etiquette and behaviour, there is no suggestion here of the "primitive communism" which looms large in the references which occur in text books to the economic life of the people at the level of culture of the aborigines. The very words

4.

CRAFT SPECIALISATION

463 In most parts of Australia, the material culture is relatively simple, and each individual makes for himself most of the weapons and implements that he uses in his daily life. This is generally the case in Arnhem Land, and a man makes his own spears, spear-throwers, and most of the other equipment that he needs for hunting and fighting. But frequently he admires the handiwork of others who show special skill in technique. This is particularly the case with spears, in which it is of some importance to a man to believe that his weapons are superior or that they have some special
[431] quality. He often acquires spears from relatives in the particular quarter within the exchange cycle which may be renowned for such weapons, giving in exchange, spears which he himself has made and which may have special merit in the eyes of people in the territories through which they pass.[28]

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411 [28] The distribution and the use of various types of spears is not as simple as might at first appear. Both in Arnhem Land and on Cape York Peninsula, North Queensland, the serrated spines of the stingray are used for the tipping of spears. On Cape York Peninsula these nails or spines are regarded merely as material for the tipping or barbing of fighting weapons and may be used by
411 anyone. But in Eastern Arnhem Land stingray spines are associated in
614 mythology with *Bulmändji* (Tiger Shark), a culture hero of
773 certain clans claiming *Bulmändji* as a clan ancestor, and the right

it must be remembered that the *lippa lippa* and the iron 177
tools for cutting them were part of the pattern of Indonesian 501
culture adopted by these people from the Macassar voyagers.

In the case of the bark canoe, while a good deal 396
of skill and experience was needed in making the craft, the actual time involved amounted to a few hours only. A man was generally assisted in stripping the sheet of [476
stringybark,[80] and in the heating and folding of this, by his 602]
wife or other near kin, and no special organisation was necessary to feed him, or to relieve him of the need to hunt, over a period of weeks. But with the building of a big seagoing dugout canoe the matter is different and a considerable amount of organisation is necessary to build and launch the craft.

Today there are three principal means of obtaining *lippa* 431
lippa. The first is as a gift of the kind called *tadoit* (pages 437
40-41), to send back the *marr* after a *ŋarra* or other cere- 396
mony, a means, however, which is uncertain because it cannot be solicited. Of the other and more direct methods of obtaining canoes, *tük̲k̲ül k̲oŋ gurrupän*, (p. 52) is probably the most favoured, while straight-out purchase (*mälli*) (pp. 51-52), in which the *djalimulimo* or *djärtunmirri* is directly engaged to carry out the work, is used less frequently. My informants said that the *djalimulimo* feeds [463]
himself during the progress of the work. This means that he must either spend a considerable part of his time in hunting or fishing or that he must depend upon his wives or other female kin to feed him in the period during which he is actually cutting the canoe. More rarely, responsibility for feed-

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[80] Although most of these bark canoes, even those which are about 14 or 15 feet in length, are constructed from a single sheet of bark, some, especially in the Gulf of Carpentaria, are made from two or more sheets sewn together.

MORE RARELY, RESPONSIBILITY FOR FEED-
[465] ing the canoe-maker is assured by the man for whom the
396 work is undertaken. He is paid finally in *gerri*, such as bundles
431 437 of spears, baskets and tomahawks, which again take the form
of "goodwill" (*ŋoi ŋämmatirri*) presents rather than payments calculated on the basis of exact economic equivalence.
In these transactions, a bargain is rarely struck; the *djärtunmirri* is flattered by the request for his services to cut
the canoe, and the *buŋgauwa lippa lippa*, the owner or
master of the canoe, seeks to please the craftsman by making
liberal gifts to ensure that the *djärtunmirri* is satisfied at
[152] the end of the transaction. For he knows that a man who
[578] harbours resentment will rarely declare this openly, but
[754] that he is likely to brood over it and eventually to seek the
aid of a medicine man or sorcerer to avenge the wrong,
real or imaginary. Even in this case, to which the name
mälli is applied, the transaction is far removed from the
level of simple purchase. But a big advance has been made
in the recognition of craft specialisation and the idea of
payment for the work of the specialist.

313 396 The responsibility of the owner, *buŋgauwa* (literally master) of the canoe, does not end here. A suitable canoe tree is hard to find and he may be obliged to select a tree some distance from river or sea, and to manhandle the heavy craft on rollers cut for the purpose.

431 476 396 The handling and launching of a new canoe is a big ceremonial occasion, and in consequence, a presentation of food is expected of the *buŋgauwa* as a gesture of goodwill to those who assist in the launching of the craft. This again entails work and organisation, and above all, the co-operation of numbers of people, including women, with divergent interests, the whole forming part of an intricate and nicely balanced system of obligation and counter obligation, of gift and counter gift.

5.

THE CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE CYCLE IN ARNHEM LAND

When a newcomer in Arnhem Land settles down among 184
the people, he quickly becomes familiar with the material 181
culture and technology and is struck by the localised and
restricted nature of the distribution of certain elements and
minor traits and even of technological materials, and by the
extreme conservatism of the people.

In the case of certain elements—in particular, the *mintji*, 184
the magnificent patterns in polychrome, the totemic designs 424
which are the hereditary property, the "copyright", of a 614
group called by these people, *barpuro*, (a clan or an aggre-
gation of clans, linked by the possession of common totemic
ancestors)—this is understandable. Anything, whether social [576
or material, which touches the solidarity of these closely- 628]
integrated groups, is jealously guarded, and its infringe-
ment bitterly resented and quickly avenged.[31] So that pru-
dence, as well as conservatism, plays a part in restricting

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[31] Sometimes this may be averted by expiatory or conciliatory [431
payments of food or *gerri* to appease the injured or offended senti- 182]
ments of the individual or group, which serve to restore a state of
euphoria or ritual goodwill. But these presentations are invariably
carried out in a ritual or ceremonial manner which gives them
the stamp of formal approval of the society acting as a group and
so lifts them above the level of mere personal or private feuds.

177 hooks, beautifully carved, and light bamboo shafts),
471 all of which are foreign to the culture of East Arnhem
Land but are very characteristic of the regions to the west
and south-west.

In answer to my questions as to the origin of these objects, I received at first only the laconic reply "*warnba*", or "*warnbaŋor*",[34] west or from the west, lit. west-from, and when I pressed the enquiry further, my informants added "*birr-barlai!*", far away from, a remote place. *Birr* is used to signify very great or very remote, in time or space, e.g. *pämmän birr*—a very long time ago, in the dim past.

The boomerang does not really belong to the Arnhem
Land culture, although fine specimens are seen there not
[431] infrequently. These are not manufactured locally and
almost always show the character of the territory far to
the south and south-west, from which they came. Their
[534] value in this territory is no longer as weapons for fighting
or hunting, but for ceremonial purposes—as "sing sticks"
or clappers for beating time—in place of the short heavy
ironwood sticks called *birlma* used to beat time for
männikai ("sings" or chants) which are the accompani-
[425] ment of each ritual and ceremonial act. Such *gerri* which
177 bear the halo and glamour of the celebrated exchange cycle,
411 are imbued with *marr*, with *virtu* or "value" apart
431 from their practical uses, and accordingly, some of them
are used as objects of material culture and become cere-
monial objects and may acquire a symbolic significance.[35]
At first my enquiries elicited only the fact that these items

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[34] *-ŋor'*, *-ŋoru*, suffix expressing "motion from".

415 [35] A recent example is seen in the case of the boomerang, to
435 which reference has been made above, but other examples are not
778 lacking. One of these is *butulo*, recognisable as the replica (*mälli*
lit. "shade") of an old square faced bottle carved from a block of

"from *warnba*" (the people of the west) entered the area 177
principally from the south-west, by way of the Raimbaräŋa 411
tribe, members of which have long been in the habit of 431
travelling down to outlying cattle stations and even to the overland stock route, and that this food then came east.

Again, the most characteristic type of spear in use 411
throughout Arnhem Land, including the northern shoreline, 431
is *ŋämbi*, a hunting and fighting spear with a detachable flint head, (see frontispiece), *ŋämbi lirra*, (*lirra*, lit. tooth), mounted with hard beeswax and not with resin. There are only two quarries from which flint spear [135]
heads are derived, but the best, the ones properly called [316]
ŋämbi, come from the quarry at *ŋillipidji*, in the hills near the Walker River in the hinterland of Blue Mud Bay. From this one quarry, of almost legendary renown, come most of the flint spear heads of Eastern Arnhem Land. These *ŋämbi lirra* are generally passed from hand to hand encased in a neat sheath of *Melaleuca* bark (*bärukälla*) called *djalk*—a name applied only to the sheath of this one type of spear and giving its name to *kumur djalk*, the quarter (*kumur*) from which these spear heads enter and of which they are the most characteristic feature. Great bundles of these fine spear heads pass from hand to hand throughout Eastern Arnhem Land, and even farther away to the south, beyond the Roper River, as well as to the west across the Liverpool. The second quarry, mentioned above, is located in the

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ironwood and which has now become elevated to the level of [778]
clan totem. In bygone days glass bottles which were occasionally 435
washed up on the beaches possessed special social value as material 415
for scraps and cutting implements. Similarly the wooden Malay anchor, with a single fluke, which was used by early visitors who came to Arnhem Land from the Celebes, has acquired a symbolic significance which is quite distinct from its original material value as the anchor (*luku*, lit. the foot) of a prau.

THE SECOND QUARRY, MENTIONED ABOVE, IS LOCATED IN THE
411 Liverpool area, but spear heads from this source are regarded
● 431 as much inferior to the *ŋämbi*, and are also known by a
[3 16] [135] distinctive name.

166 This much even the newcomer, who has his eyes about
431 him, sees for himself. It is clear that *gerri* circulate freely in Arnhem Land and far beyond, that the movements of certain special elements of material culture are extensive, and that they are not dependent upon the entry of the white man or the breaking down of the culture. As we have seen, the movements of the people themselves are restricted generally to their own clan territories and to those of a few neighbouring groups with whom a special relationship has been established, except on certain ceremonial occasions, or on *miriŋo* (war-making or avenging) expeditions. At other times they do not move very far afield, or at least they did not do so in former times. And again, we have seen that the very nature of the social organisation, the division of the whole of the territory among totemic clans each with its own intense internal solidarity and its equally strong opposition to other clans, was calculated to hinder and restrict, rather than to encourage, free intercourse between clans whose territories lay any distance apart.

431 How then are the *gerri* which bear, unmistakably, the stamp of origin in far away territories, actually circulated? By what means are they passed from group to group, and what is the motive force which brings boomerangs as well as other elements foreign to this culture at least two or three hundred miles from their place of origin, into a territory where their very function is lost? What, again, causes parcels containing *ŋämbi* to be brought considerably more than a hundred miles from the quarry where they were made? How do pounding and grinding stones, which are

of special types and very local in occurrence, come to be 431 ●
distributed throughout the whole of this great territory?
And how, again, are pigments and ochre—*miḳo*, (red), [317
butälläḳ, (yellow), and *raitpa*, a reddish-purple pigment 386]
with a metallic sheen which is used especially for ceremonial purposes—which occur in deposits localised in certain clan territories, distributed throughout the whole area? Why are these pigments and other materials not guarded as jealously as the patterns in polychrome and retained in one area instead of being so widely dispersed?

Each individual in Arnhem Land is the centre of a great 192
ceremonial exchange cycle. A man calls the people of all 431
those groups to the east and north-east of himself, naming them from the class of *gerri* which characterise them, *ḳumur miwait*; those to the north *ḳumur muadäḳ* (*muadäḳ*, the generic name for all calico or fabric), to the south-west and south, *ḳumur ḳärin* (inside), to the west and north-west, *ḳumur ḳätjirḳ*, and those to the south-east and east, *ḳumur djalḳ* (paperbark sheath used for *ŋämbi lirra*—literally the "tooth" or head).

Kumur is really the breastbone or sternum, but a hill is 192
also *ḳumur* or *buḳu*, and *ḳumur* is used again to denote 431
direction, aspect, and hence, the quarters within the cere- 572
monial exchange cycle. Each individual within this great cycle has friends of a type called *ḳumuryanna märnda*, really "breast to breast those two". This expression is used of friends who are partners, who stand opposite one another and exchange gifts or *gerri* within the exchange system, and between whom is carried out a life-long system of ceremonial exchange. These relationships, which go by the general title of *ḳumur märnda*, are sometimes very complex, sometimes simple. Certain types of gifts characterise each of the groups (and indeed in at least two

192 instances, actually give their names to them[36]). (See map
431 577 No. 2.) A man who has relatives (*gurruto*) in groups in one direction (*kumur*) draws from that quarter, in the form of gifts, *gerri* (valuables), which he has an obligation to pass to relatives or friends in another group in the appropriate *kumur*. Although he received many presents, much *gerri*, in the course of each year, he does not hold these things for long but acts merely as a temporary custodian, a clearing house, and passes them on to satisfy the incessant demand for *wetj* (page 78), and to maintain his status and prestige in the *kumuryänna märnda* relationship of the ceremonial exchange cycle.

431 Certain types of *gerri* are characteristic of each of these *kumur* and the receipt of a gift from one direction sets up an obligation to reciprocate with *gerri* from another. So a series of obligations, each with its counter obligation, forms the mechanism by which *gerri* are passed for hundreds of miles, *always away from the direction in which they originated*.

182 This ceremonial exchange provides the basis for a great
431 cultural movement that has for its motive force the all-powerful "drive" rather than the obligations of mere economic exchange, which although an important accompaniment, is subservient to the ceremonial aspect. It is this

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[36] *Kumur djalk*, applied to the people to the south and to *gerri* from that quarter (*kumur*), takes its name from *djalk*, the paper-bark sheath of *ŋämbi lirra*, the most characteristic and important object derived from this quarter in the exchange system. *Kumur muadäk* is named from *muadäk*, the collective term for the calico, wool and associated material which was introduced by the Macassar voyagers from this (northern) quarter and which, under the established system, passes to the south to *kumur djalk* and *kumur kärin* to satisfy the obligation for reciprocal gifts in return for *ŋämbi*, boomerangs and other characteristic *gerri*.

It is this
ceremonial exchange cycle, and the rule that *gerri* from one direction pass to the opposite quarter, e.g. from *kumur kätjirk* and *kumur kärin* to *kumur miwait*, which provides the means by which such objects as boomerangs (*källi-gälli*), a conspicuous foreign element in the area, have come from a region hundreds of miles away. It provides the motive force by which bundles of stone spear heads, (*lirra ŋämbi*), have come north from the far-famed quarry at *ŋillipidji*, and dispersed throughout the territory. There is, however, some flexibility in this arrangement for it is obvious that a man who receives a ceremonial present from a partner may pass it to one of a number of people situated in a fairly wide geographical range. The natives refer to the routes along which *gerri* are passed as *dukarr*, paths, or roads[87] because these have become fixed fairly definitely by tradition. Objects of a certain type, such as boomerangs, although they are not manufactured in Arnhem Land but originate far to the south or south-west, may come by a south-western route along the Katherine River; from the south, up the Wilton by way of the Raimbaräŋa, a tribe of the interior, or they may come from the same source by a more easterly route via the Ritar'ŋo and Wagilläk clans, who, like the Raimbaräŋa, are interior people and are great rovers. (See map No. 2.)

431 ● [182] [177] [192] [439]

This means that of a number of boomerangs manufac-

431 439 [171 172]

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[87] The use of the term "road" for these routes along which objects passed within these ceremonial exchange systems, seems to have been general in Australia and Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown has furnished the following note from his experience of Western Australia:

"The way in which objects pass continuously in one direction (which the W.A. natives call a 'road') is illustrated by the presence of pearl-shell from the Kimberley District among the tribes of the Great Australian Bight."

431 439 tured by the Djauwuny' tribe about Katherine, some may eventually reach a man on the Lower Glyde River, from *ḳumur ḳätjirḳ*, while others may come via the Wilton River from *ḳumur ḳärin*, and others again may be passed from partners in the *ḳumur djalḳ* quarter, by the partners of Ritar'ŋo or Wagilläk clans. This means that two boomerangs which have exactly the same origin may eventually reach a man in North-eastern Arnhem Land from two *ḳumur* on opposite sides of his territory. But because of their associations, and the fact that they are characteristic of the west and southwest of his horizon, boomerangs are usually regarded as part of the *gerri* classed as *ḳumur ḳärin* or *ḳumur ḳätjirḳ* and not as *ḳumur djalḳ*, although they may actually arrive via this quarter.

Another example occurs in the case of *ŋämbi lirra*, the much-prized flint spear heads. As stated above, these come from a single quarry which is located at ŋillipidji in the hinterland of Blue Mud Bay. But while typically they reach a Mildjiŋi clansman on the Lower Glyde River, (as the most characteristic *gerri* of the *djalḳ* complex) travelling up the Glyde River by way of Ritar'ŋo, Wagilläk and Tjinba or Wulläkki people, some are passed to the northward, and eventually reach the Glyde River area by the *ḳumur miwait* route along the southern shores of Arnhem and Buckingham Bays. (See maps 1 and 2.)

Each man, within the ceremonial exchange cycle, acts as a clearing house for *gerri* of certain well-defined types, holding them only for a short time and then passing them on in the appropriate direction in discharge of an obligation to reciprocate a gift from a friend or relative within the system.

A man of the Mildjiŋi clan of the Lower Glyde River, North-east Arnhem Land, who may engage actively in this

kumur märnda exchange, gave me the following list of 431
gerri which he received from each of the five quarters or 439
kumur[28] which form the horizon of his exchange cycle.

(1) *Kumur miwait,* (east). *Kaiyit*[29] (iron headed spears) [411
and the round black pounding stones used throughout 412]
Arnhem Land, especially for pulverising *ŋätu,* (*Cycas* fruit). This stone, which comes from the English Company's Islands, is called *poipuro* by groups as widely separated linguistically as Kopapoiŋo (and the allied Tjämbarpoiŋo) on the one hand, and Mildjiŋi on the other. Sometimes *ŋämbi lirra* (flint spear heads), which form the most characteristic of the *gerri* from *kumur djalk,* to which they give their name, may, as has been indicated above, reach a man in North Central Arnhem Land (e.g. a man of Mildjiŋi clan of the Lower Glyde River) by an easterly route via the roving Ritar'ŋo people, thence along the southern side of Buckingham Bay.

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[28] Mildjiŋi use the same name for these groups, but the actual [192]
word *kumur* (sternum) becomes *biri* in this language.

[29] The natives of Caledon, Trial and Blue Mud Bays, on the [325]
Gulf of Carpentaria, have acquired much skill in the making of *kaiyit,* and the manufacture of fine spear heads has become almost an industry at Trial Bay. Even before I actually entered Arnhem Land I had been surprised to obtain on the Roper River, iron headed (so-called "shovel") spears from Woodah Island, Blue Mud Bay. I found it difficult to understand why iron spear heads should be passing down to the Roper from Blue Mud Bay, where there was no white settlement, where contacts even by sea were few, and iron relatively scarce and highly valued, into country where cattle stations had long been established and where iron was relatively
easy to get. But the explanation of this was found later, in the 182
discovery in Northern Arnhem Land of the existence of the cere- 177
monial exchange cycle, which supplies the motive force for the 431
great movements of *gerri* over distances of hundreds of miles, of 439
which this is a part, and to which impetus was given by the coming

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431 (2) *Kumur muadäk* comprises calico, tobacco, blankets,
[177 glass (the latter used for scrapers and highly valued in the
439] making of spears and other weapons), tomahawks, knives,
belts, smoking pipes and other *gerri* of the type which are
said formerly to have been obtained from the Macassars.
[182 To fill the demand for *wetj* (page 78), and under the incessant
554] obligations of the ceremonial exchange system, these *gerri* are passed quickly to the southward—not so much under the urge for economic barter, as to fulfil obligations set up by the ceremonial exchange cycle and to gain the prestige, which the ability to send *gerri* of this order confers on the sender. For, while it will be seen that this fulfils a definite economic function, its basis is primarily ceremonial.

(3) *Kumur kätjirk*. A series of very characteristic *gerri*, some of which differ considerably from those made in

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[177] of the Macassar voyagers which brought iron to Arnhem Land long
[182] before, it was known in what later became the settled country of
431 the Roper River.

439 The most interesting feature of this southern movement of spears is the fact that, today, when the position is reversed and when iron is relatively scarce and difficult to obtain in Arnhem Land in contrast with its abundance in the settled country of the Roper River valley, the passage of fine iron spear heads from Blue Mud Bay, which was developed under the impetus of the ceremonial exchange cycle, stimulated by the coming of the Macassar voyagers, still continues, although the practical need for it, the demand for iron spear heads for actual use in the Roper River area, must have passed, or at least must have been much reduced. The fact that the *economic* need which it served has passed, stresses once more the strength of the *ceremonial aspect* of the *kumur märnda* exchange cycle.
[572] It must be remembered that partners within the ceremonial exchange cycle exist of such long standing that they have even become hereditary. These people send *gerri*, and these must be reciprocated with presents of the type long established by tradition, whether they seem appropriate or not.

Eastern Arnhem Land, come from *ḳumur ḳätjirḳ* 431
across the Liverpool River. *Källämba*, (forehead fillets), 439
märbät or *tjänauwo*, (woven "bibs" or aprons), hooked spears of the types *bäḳḳärämma*, *mat'tji'tji* ("biting bags" used to hold between the teeth in fighting), as well as *bärlatta*, (heavy fighting clubs).

(4) *Kumur djalḳ*. *ŋämbi lirra*, (*ŋämbi* spear heads), *ḳälli-gälli*, (boomerangs), *ḳai'u*, (chain mesh dilly bags), and *ŋätjin* or *bulnyin*, (opossum fur pubic coverings or aprons made from opossum fur). So a *ŋämbi* spear coming to a Mildjiŋi man of the Glyde River travels from the quarry at ŋillipidji near Blue Mud Bay in Wagilläk territory via the Ritar'ŋo, (a nomadic group of *yiritja* moiety having a big territory in the interior of Arnhem Land).

(5) *Kumur ḳärin*, the chief route by which boomerangs (*ḳälli-gälli*) enter North-eastern Arnhem Land, also provides hooked spears with bamboo shafts of several types made in Central and North Central Arnhem Land; belts of human hair of large ceremonial type—an iron-headed spear of special type known as *lämma* with a very short, broad blade that distinguishes it from *ḳaiyit*. Today (in contrast with former conditions[40]), it yields also *djimindi* (wire for

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[40] The first source of such valued *gerri* as axes, iron, wire, [177
calico and tobacco, for the whole of Arnhem Land, was the visiting 174]
fleet from the Celebes or elsewhere in Indonesia, and there is evidence that articles of this order were passed far inland long before there was any settlement in the Northern Territory. But today the order is reversed to some extent and a considerable amount of calico, wool, blankets, axes, iron, wire and fish hooks passes north from the settled cattle country along the *duḳurr* of the ceremonial exchange cycle. When this *gerri* reaches Arnhem Land it is still known as *muadäḳ* because it belongs to the category of objects which came originally from *ḳumur muadäḳ*.

431 fish spears), iron bars or rods used for digging and for the
439 manufacture of spear blades, and especially *källämba*—the closely woven forehead fillets worn during the *kunabibbi* ceremony—which come up from the neighbourhood of Katherine and Mataranka and from the cattle stations in the south, by way of the Wilton River and Mainoru Station whence they are carried north by the Raimbaräŋa and
[552] Ritar'ŋo people. The tradition which lays down the *gerri* derived from each quarter is so well established that the name of the *kumur* serves also as the collective term for the *gerri* which characterise it. The flint spear heads which come from ŋillipidji under the ceremonial exchange system may be referred to equally correctly as *ŋämbi* or *djalk*. And again, any calico, wool or other material which is associated with the Macassar visitors.

431 It is an understood thing that no object is passed back to the quarter from which it came. Thus a *kaiyit*, an iron-headed spear, that came from the east (from *miwait*) is constantly passed westward, and must not return to *miwait*. This is so much a part of the tradition that when a man is asked for a spear, knife, or other object with which he does not wish to part, not infrequently he replies that it came from *kätjirk*, or whatever the country of the person seeking the *gerri* may be, with the inference that it may not return to the same *kumur*, and so averts the embarrassment of a direct refusal. But it is obvious that this rule is not inflexible and that in practice, with so many changes of hands, *gerri* may be dispersed widely, while still maintaining the general direction. This has already been illustrated in the case of *ŋämbi* (page 65), which, though having only one place of origin at ŋillipidji, may actually reach a given area, e.g. Mildjiŋi territory on the Lower Glyde River, by circuitous, as well as by the direct route,

from *kumur djalk*. But because of its known origin, a 431 ŋämbi lirra (flint spear head) is always known as *kumur* [572] *djalk*, and for this reason it would not be appropriate for a man to the north to pass *ŋämbi lirra* as *wetj* to a partner in the south-east.

In order to understand the complicated system surrounding 182 431 572 602 the exchange of gifts and the sharing of food and game it would be necessary to have not only a thorough working knowledge of the kinship system and the obligations, unilateral and reciprocal, laid down by its terminology, but also to understand each of the special relationships which, in addition to those arising from kinship, may exist between members of the society.

To avoid further extending this account, I shall refer to 602 one only of these special relationships. This is *tjukarŋo*, 601 a term used reciprocally between individuals who stand in one of two relationships under the kinship system; *wawamändji*[41] (*wawa*, brother; *-mändji*, those two) or *marimändji*, i.e. *mari* ⇌ *kutara*, (mother's mother's brother ⇌ sister's daughter's son). Where these people stand in the relationship of brother they are usually half-brothers, the sons of women who are sisters, especially of sisters who have married men of clans on opposite sides of their own clan territories. Another factor is that often the relationship of *tjukarŋo* has existed between the mothers—who are not full or half-sisters—for it may exist between women as well as men. A man extends the same term also to brothers and sisters of his *tjukarŋo*.

Tjukarŋo is a very special relationship, the closest and most 602 permanent that can exist between men.

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[41] The suffix *-mändji* denotes mutual relationship together, i.e. *wawa-mändji*, brothers together; *wawa* is really elder brother but is used in this connection to express the relationship between brothers.

602 431 553 My informants said that they had never known *tjukarŋo* to fight. So intimate is the bond that exists between these people that their social personalities are often closely identified, and men, but not women, who stand in this relationship may exchange personal names. When this occurs they also exchange all their personal possessions—spears, dilly bags (baskets), tomahawks and other *gerri*. The exchange of names may take place at any time and not merely on some special ceremonial occasion. It may be permanent; and the new name then passes to the *kutara* (sister's daughters), while my own *kutara* now takes my name—the name which belonged formerly to my *tjukarŋo*. 431 602 The chief feature of this very special relationship appears to be the obligation to send presents, and to act as host and protector to the *tjukarŋo* when he is on a visit, or when danger threatens. [726] If a member of a *miriŋo* (war-making) party meets his *tjukarŋo* when on a raiding party he will enfold him in his arms to protect him from spears, and he will act also as protector to his wife and children.

An important feature of the *tjukarŋo* relationship is exchange of gifts and a sharing of possessions no matter how valuable. It is probable that this special relationship in which the reciprocal obligations to give are very strong, arose originally from some special feature of the kinship organisation.

But the relationship upon which the great ceremonial exchange cycle rests is, as stated on pages 67 and 68, called simply *kumur märnda*.[42] Men or women who apply the term *kumur märnda* to one another, normally stand in one of the following relationships:

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[42] *Kumur*, lit. sternum, hence, breast, face or aspect; *märnda*, those two, hence literally, "face to face" or "breast to breast" those two.

ŋäti	⇌	*käminyarr* (mother's father—daughter's son and daughter). 431 602
kauwal	⇌	*wäkku* (mother's brother—sister's son and daughter). [601]
duwe	⇌	*källai* (mother's brother's or father's sister's son and daughter).
mari	⇌	*kutara* (mother's mother's brother—sister's daughter's son and daughter).
wawa	⇌	*yukko yukko* (elder brother—younger brother).
bapa n'ymokunie	⇌	*katu* (father's younger brother—son and daughter).
maralkor	⇌	*korroŋ* (mother's mother's brother's son—father's sister's daughter's son and daughter).

People who stand in the *kumur märnda* relationship are 431
regarded as partners facing one another in the exchange 602
system, and each has the obligation to give gifts of the ap- 577
propriate order. Each strives to pass to the other, his partner in the *kumur mändji* relationship, gifts of the kind appropriate to the *kumur* in which he stands, and the partner in turn must reciprocate, though not necessarily immediately. This exchange is not in any sense [182]
barter although circulation of goods on a large scale results. Its primary object, to the native, is not merely to gain goods, for to these people the ceremonial aspect is the important one. As my informant said: "Meaning, to give all the time—*kumur märnda ŋällinya* (partners together, we two)—all the time, till die". i.e. the objective of each is to give in order to maintain and affirm the bond between each *kumur* pair, until they die, when their children carry it on. If two men die who are *kumuryanna märnda*, their wives may take over the relationship, and carry on the ritual exchange. The importance of the [192]
ceremonial aspect, and the fact that this relationship is

431 different from that of pure economic exchange, is indicated
602 by the use of a special term, *wetj*, which means "to give",
[192] but in a ceremonial sense, a sense quite distinct from that
577 for which the ordinary word for giving—*gurrupän*, (*gurrupulo*, imperative), is used. Again, my informant, Raiwälla of Mildjiŋi, in explaining the ceremonial exchange cycle, the *kumur märnda* relationship in which he was a very active participant, exclaimed, "If you have a good thing here, might be you give it to me. You think, 'I give it to him. I like to give it to him.' All right, *wetj gurrupulo närräna*[43] (you give to me)." To illustrate further the meaning of *wetj*, this man added, "If he asks, you give it to him because he asks. But if you give it yourself—that is *wetj*—that is *marr*, because you *like* to give it to him."

"*Djal* *ni* *gurrupänarau*," he added in the
Like (desire) you to give,

language, i.e. it is *marr*[44] because you give it freely, spontaneously, from a desire to give and not because he has asked for it. Freely rendered, "If you have something you value, perhaps you may give it spontaneously to me, your partner in the ceremonial exchange cycle. Or you may think about it and waver."

In this phrase my informant expresses the momentary
431 hesitance, the reluctance of a man with something he
602
577 prizes, and would like to possess himself, to pass it on to his partner in the *kumur märnda* relationship. He thinks about it and wavers—but finally he decides to give it. The

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[43] A little of the native text has been retained, chiefly because it is difficult to find the exact equivalent in English.

[192] [777] [44] *Marr* has been defined (page 37) in part as "spiritual power" but it means much more than this. It is also the "power to respond" and is generally associated in some way with personal things. *Marr* is the "power", the "drive" which lies behind ritual and is the force which brings good and bad "luck", success in hunting.

informant explains this feeling, and contrasts the spirit in 431 which such a gift is given, in these circumstances, with 602 577 one which is given merely in response to a request. He conceives his giving within the ceremonial cycle—which is of the type called *wetj*—as due to *marr*, to the force, the ritual urge, (stronger, even, than the desire to retain and possess *gerri*) to pass them on and either to increase thereby his own prestige in the *ḳumur märnda* relationship, or to acquit himself of an existing obligation in the quarter to which he sends it.

Again the same informant, Raiwälla of Mildjiŋi clan on the Lower Glyde River, a fine and intelligent native, with a great number of partners in this ceremonial exchange system, widely dispersed throughout Central Arnhem Land, said of his two younger half-brothers (from the same mother) who belonged to Ritar'ŋo clan and who were *ḳumur djalḳ* to him: "Wuruwul and ŋälländir (his half-brothers) bring *ŋämbi djalḳ . . . must* I give *wetj*." i.e. "They bring stone spear heads" (from ŋillipidji the appropriate *ḳumur* in the exchange cycle) "and I *must* reciprocate."

To fail to repay these gifts quickly, even with his own [558] half-brothers, would be to lose face, to suffer in prestige— [626] perhaps even to be passed over next time a gift in the ceremonial exchange system was available. Some idea of the importance of the smooth operation of the ceremonial exchange cycle, and of the extent to which it induces a state of *euphoria* or ritual well-being, may be gathered from the answer which I received from this same informant (Raiwälla) to a question which I had put to him.

When Raiwälla listed *büti mindjalpi* (a special type of woven basket carried by men to contain their personal possessions) among the *gerri* which he received from *ḳumur*

579 ***miwait***, I asked him if he did not make these ***mindjalpi***
431 himself. He replied "I make them, but different country—
602 he must give me *wetj*—like this" (holding his hand out). "If you give me, I can't say 'I don't want it' because this arm belong him goes this way—it points along me. *Marr* (goodwill, spiritual power) goes this way, I must take it. *Wetj* is like *marr*."

182 But if it is the sociological bond, the *kumuryanna märnda*
431 relationship, which is so much stressed by the natives, this
435 ceremonial exchange has also an economic side which is no less important than the ritual, and which accompanies it, taking advantage of the motive force and the mechanism and driving force of the more obvious ceremonial exchange. Under cover of the great ceremonial exchange system, of which an outline only has been given, large quantities of *gerri* pass from one territory to another, and although in some cases, as with the *bäti* (basket) called *mindjalpi*, the actual article itself varies little if at all from a similar object of local manufacture, it has special value, *virtu*, by reason of the fact that it has been made in another country. This is particularly true of spears, which circulate freely throughout the area, and are valued often because they are believed to possess special merit derived from their place of origin—because they acquire a halo of glamour and romance by reason of the way in which they are acquired; because they have *marr*. And although the natives still retain "ordinary", (non-sacred) objects, this gives those acquired by ceremonial exchange a history, a background, a personality which lifts them above other *wäkkinŋu* objects and gives them a greatly enhanced value in the eyes of people who receive them.

182 Here then, is the nucleus of a great system of exchange,
431 which, though it differs in many respects from our own established ideas of trade or barter, supplies an incentive,

and above all a social and ceremonial background 182
to the aborigine, far more important than the mere 431 ●
material gain of *gerri*. It furnishes him also with an in- [461]
centive to work and to lavish special skill on the making
of objects of material culture, in order to discharge his obli-
gations within the scope of this system, which no mere desire
for economic gain, shorn of its ritual and pageantry, could
achieve, however great the material reward.

by repeated intervention of the Australian Customs Authorities 174
after Federation. The Indonesian influence in Arnhem
Land, therefore, probably extended over a period of nearly
two hundred years, perhaps much longer. Although there 177
is no conclusive evidence as to the time when these visits
commenced, there is reason for the belief that they occurred
over a relatively long period, and a study of the culture shows
that the visitors from Indonesia exercised a strong influence on
the people. This is apparent in their material culture, and
to an even greater extent in their social and ceremonial life
and mythology. I have mentioned (page 71, footnote) my
surprise at finding in settled country on the Roper River,
even before I entered the then isolated country of Arnhem
Land, fine iron spear heads from Blue Mud Bay, an area
where iron was still difficult to obtain and much
coveted. The natives of this region have been suspected of [721
attacking *bêche-de-mer* and other craft merely for the iron 325]
in the water tanks and trepang boilers, from which, by a
laborious process of hammering and grinding, they manufacture
fine spear heads. This was in 1935, when I had been [123]
sent by the Commonwealth Government to investigate unrest
and tribal fighting in Arnhem Land. The people of [648]
Caledon and Blue Mud Bays were regarded as warlike and
aggressive and were still greatly feared by the natives to the
south, with whom they had little contact and who would
not have entered their territory.

Subsequent work in Arnhem Land revealed the existence 174
of the great ceremonial exchange cycle which has been 177
described in detail on page 67 above. But while the *kumur* 431
märnda relationship exists throughout the whole of Arnhem
Land, and while the ceremonial exchange cycle draws
gerri from far beyond this region, there is evidence for the
belief that it was the visits of Macassar voyagers, who

[174] brought articles of great material and social value, which
177 gave a special impetus and furnished the "drive", not only
431 for the circulation of *gerri* over hundreds of miles of
country, but which did much to overcome also the organised "opposition" between clans.

114 These observations contrast strongly with the conclusions
177 of Professor W. Lloyd Warner[48] who states:
431
439 "The trade with the Malays seems to have been purely
on a basis of exchange, with very little else in its social content. Nevertheless it had little effect on the aboriginal ideas of trade . . . The native sometimes exchanges things he possesses for the things he needs and cannot get from his own territory . . .

"All this," Warner considers, "again shows the strong resistance of the Murngin culture to outside influence. The Malay trader came for an exchange of goods and nothing else; and it would be thought that, in the hundreds of years he is likely to have been in Arnhem Land, he would have given a new impetus to Murngin ideas of exchange. But as far as can be determined, the Murngin ideas are no different from what they were before he arrived . . ."

And again, after stressing the value of the iron axes brought to this territory by the Malays, Warner says, "It is unlikely that many iron axes ever reached the interior peoples." Of these axes he adds, "The substitution of the iron tomahawk (brought in as an article of trade by the Malays) for the stone axe can be understood, since the iron implement is a far more capable instrument, and a more important reason—the tomahawk was easily acquired and it was not necessary to learn how to make it. There was no arduous labour attached to collecting turtle shell to trade for an axe, for the shell came as a by-product to the pursuit of harpooning turtles. The making of the stone axe took time and a considerable amount of hard labour; but to go turtle hunting was a pleasure, since turtle harpooning expeditions are not only for the anticipated enjoyment of the flesh and to supply the family larder, but also for the pure joy of stalking the turtle, spearing it, and bringing it home to an admiring audience which could appreciate one's abilities as a hunter and a man of importance. Undoubtedly pride of workmanship is felt by a native axe-maker. His fellow tribesmen always express their appreciation of a well-turned-out axe or spear head, but the social approbation given to the two occupations is completely disproportionate." 114 177 431 439

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[48] W. Lloyd Warner, *A Black Civilisation*, 1937, (pp. 458ff).

And again, in the continued use of the bark canoe by the people of Arnhem Land after the introduction of the *lippa lippa* by the visiting seafarers from the Celebes, Warner sees proof of the conservatism of the aborigine.

"The conservatism of Australian material culture is more or less demonstrated by the persistence of the bark canoe. Even today men who know how to make a dugout with outrigger equipment paddle their bark canoes across the open sea from island to island and from the various points of land . . ."

Professor Warner has missed entirely the tremendous importance of the impact of this Indonesian culture on the ceremonial life of these people in his review of Malay or Macassar contacts with the people of Arnhem Land, from which the above extracts are quoted. And in his remarks on the ease with which the native acquired iron axes, and his comments on the conservatism surrounding the continued use of the bark canoe he tends rather to over-simplification.

There is no justification for the conclusion that the cul- 114 177

114 ture of the natives of North-eastern Arnhem Land showed
177 a resistance to the influence of this virile culture from Indonesia, and certainly none for the statement that the ideas of these people were "no different from what they were before he (the Malay seafarer) arrived . . ."

121 I do not propose here to attempt a full review of the in-
177 fluence of the Indonesian culture on the ceremonial life of these people, but merely to show its effect on the ceremonial exchange cycle and the economic system which accompanies it.

177 That this influence was extensive is proved beyond ques-
192 tion by the fact (see pp. 67, 68f) that the term *muadäk*,
●431 which gives its name to *kumur muadäk*, the northern sec-
439 tor of the exchange cycle, is the collective or generic name given by the natives to all the *gerri* which they obtained formerly from the Macassar visitors, of which the chief items are knives, axes of the type called *luŋa linya*, nails (for fish hooks etc.), fish hooks and lines, bottle glass (for scrapers), tobacco, smoking pipes (*pämatukka*), belts, wooden dugout canoes, (*lippa lippa*), beads, (*männi-männi*), and material such as calico, blankets, string and later, wool, to which the collective term *mäthäkäl* was applied.

114 When Professor Warner contrasts the ease with which an
324 Arnhem Land native acquired an iron axe from the Malays,
135 with the labour involved in the making of the (admittedly)
431 much less efficient and satisfactory stone axe, he overlooks
463 certain important factors. First, that stone axes, like flint spear heads, are made from special stone which occurs only in restricted areas, and that while any man who merely uses an axe to get wild honey, can grind the edge, the implement itself is usually made initially by a craftsman, a specialist in the working of the stone who lives in the country in which it occurs, and like the smooth hard

114
135
pounding stones called *poipuro* (page 71) it is exported 324
as *gerri* within the ceremonial exchange system. 431 463

It is part of my thesis to show that an important function 182 served by the ceremonial exchange cycle is in supplying 431 this incentive, this motive for fine craftsmanship, the an- 324 ticipation of the ritual and pageantry, by adding romance or 463 "glamour" to work which would otherwise be drudgery. A man does not as a rule set out to manufacture a stone axe as he may a fish spear or a hunting spear, to satisfy an immediate need. Such an implement requires hours, even days, of grinding and polishing after the preliminary rough shaping of the hard stone. But, as it has been pointed out, these axes are made by a craftsman who probably learned the craft from his father and are accumulated as *gerri* which will be presented on some future ceremonial occasion to "pay back" a present that the maker has received from one of his exchange partners, or they are used to create an obligation which his partner will later discharge.

The stone quarry at ŋillipidji where *ŋämbi lirra* are [135 made, covers acres of ground, and hundreds, perhaps thou- 316] sands of spear heads come from the quarry in the course of a year. Like the stone axe heads, these flint heads are not made for immediate use, but are passed from Wagilläk territory—in bundles of a dozen or so, each wrapped neatly in the paperbark sheath called *djalk*—to reciprocate ceremonial presents of *muadäk*, or to build up goodwill and prestige. Big bundles are sent north and north-west, in the knowledge that they will be reciprocated ultimately with other *gerri* of a traditional kind and of at least equivalent value.

From the orientation of a man of Mildjiŋi clan of the 182 Glyde River, the people to the north who occupy the terri- 431 tory along the northern shoreline, at Glyde Inlet, and Banyan 438

182 Island at the mouth of the Goyder River, are *ḳumur mua-*
●431 *däḳ*, and it is from his partners in this region within the
438 *ḳumur märnda* relationship or ceremonial exchange cycle,
and in former times from the Macassar people themselves, that a Mildjiŋi man looked, for all the articles of the class called *muadäḳ* and *mäthäḳäl*.

My informant, Raiwälla, of Mildjiŋi clan (of the middle Glyde River), speaking of the *ḳumur märnda* relationship, the circulation of *gerri*, and his place in the exchange system, said quite spontaneously:

"I make (*gerri*) come down from *diltji* (hills) and go down along sandbeach." i.e. "I, as 'middle man' gather *gerri* from the high hills—in this case from *ḳumur djalḳ* and *ḳumur ḳärin*—and send them down to the coast."

In the phrase quoted above, my informant expressed his attitude towards the exchange cycle and his understanding of the part it plays in the circulation of wealth. He sees himself, in his territory on the Glyde River, as the "middle man" between the people of the inland (to whom he is *ḳumur muadäḳ*), and the people of the coast (to whom he is *ḳumur ḳärin*). (See map 2 of Arnhem Land with diagram of ceremonial exchange cycle, prepared from standpoint of a Mildjiŋi clansman.) From the inland he obtains *gerri* such as *ŋämbi lirra* (flint spear heads), *ḳälli-gälli* (boomerangs), *ḳällämba* (forehead fillets), and many other items, and passes these on to his partners on the coast, from whom he obtains reciprocal presents, especially of the *gerri* called *muadäḳ*, which he, in turn, must pass inland again to *ḳumur ḳärin* and *ḳumur djalḳ*. For the people of Banyan Island, the mouth of the Goyder River, and Howard Island, most *gerri* of the *ḳumur djalḳ* horizon come by another route—along the Goyder River and the hinterland of Buckingham Bay. From the social standpoint the constant

FROM THE SOCIAL STANDPOINT THE CONSTANT flow of *muadäk* from the Macassar visitors enabled a man 182 437 of this area to discharge his obligations to those from whom 431 he had received *gerri*, and to maintain and to build up his [554] prestige. From the economic point of view it had the effect of stimulating the circulation of *gerri*, of maintaining a balanced exchange of goods, under cover of what, to the natives, is the vastly more important social and ceremonial relationship.

The orientation of the ceremonial exchange system as it 177 182 431 still operates, with the emphasis on the "approved" or traditional *gerri* in each *kumur*, leaves no doubt as to the impetus which the coming of the Indonesians gave to the culture of this area. The people of the coast, who in former times came into direct contact with the Macassar visitors—and in more recent times, with trepang fishermen and casual seafarers—and who have provided the iron, nails, and bottles (for glass scrapers, etc.) for their exchange partners, are named from the special *gerri*, known collectively as *muadäk*, which they send as reciprocal gifts to their partners in the south.

It is not proposed to deal at length with the ceremonial aspect of this infiltration, and a single reference will suffice to show the effect on ceremonial life, which gives weight to the data which has been recorded, and of the value placed upon the *gerri* which were brought by the Macassar seafarers, as well as the effect of this on economic and social life.

The Mildjiŋi clan of the Glyde River has not only come 177 strongly under the influence of these Indonesian people, 431 but among other traits, has adopted a square-faced bottle, 532 called *butulo*, and has elevated it to the level of a clan totem. 778 Today the *mälli*, the representation, "the shade", the nonmaterial representation or effigy of this bottle, is carved laboriously from solid ironwood, and is painted with a

177 sacred totemic design called *tärrupoŋon*—comprising
431 clouds in highly conventionalised form—which the people
532 say were reflected on the wet surface of the old square-
778 faced bottles when they were found, wet and glistening, cast up by the sea. So that for Mildjiŋi, the bottle, which is regarded as part of the heritage from the Macassar visitors, had a double interest. It ranked among *ḳumur muadäḳ gerri* for ceremonial exchange and as an ordinary "*wäḳḳinŋu*" (non-sacred) manifestation of the *butulo*, which mythology tells them was brought, in ancestral times, by the Munäŋa, the Macassar seafarers, and which therefore gives the people a charter for the adoption by Mildjiŋi clan of *butulo* as a ceremonial totem.

114 Here is proof, not only of the recognition of the social
177 value of bottles, which in former times were valued greatly
431 as material for scrapers, but also a refutation of Warner's statement as to the conservatism of Arnhem Land culture and what he has termed the "strong resistance of the Murngin culture to outside influence". The example quoted is only one instance of an influence which has been widespread in Arnhem Land culture.

To suggest that it is unlikely that many of the iron axes which were brought by the Malays would reach the interior people, is to underestimate the dynamic effect of the impact of this virile culture on the people of Arnhem Land. In 1935 I made a long patrol on foot across Arnhem Land, and I remember well seeing, on the wall of a rock shelter, far inland, the drawing of an iron axe of the special type called *luŋa linya*, brought in former times by the Macassar people. At the time I felt some surprise, but this feeling disappeared with the subsequent discovery and understanding of the operation of the ceremonial exchange system

182 431 577 438 It is probable that under ordinary conditions, if the circulation of these axes depended on straight-out exchange or barter, their value to the seafaring peoples of the north and east coasts of Arnhem Land, for the cutting of dugout canoes, would have been such that the people would have parted with them reluctantly. But under the ceremonial exchange system, and the compelling need to build up goodwill and to increase their prestige by the circulation of *gerri*, and especially to make reciprocal gifts for those already received, the people on the sea coast, who received these axes first, must have been compelled to pass many of them rapidly southward to partners in *ḳumur djalḳ* and *ḳumur ḳärin*. Of this circulation of *gerri* an informant remarked—"I must make road there". It is significant that he used the words "must" and "road". The word "road" my informant translated first as *ḳumur*, then as *ḳumur duḳarr*—conceiving the movement of *gerri* as so regular and extensive as to make a beaten path or "road", *duḳarr*, a conception to which reference was made on page 69 above.

But again it must be remembered that the *social* obligations of the ceremonial exchange cycle, which to the natives are the obvious and vitally important ones, far outweigh the economic exchange which accompanies it, and sometimes persist after the actual need for its *gerri* has passed, as in the case of the iron spear heads from Blue Mud Bay which were passing down to the Roper River long after this area had become settled.

177 431 There is little doubt that a ceremonial exchange system existed in Arnhem Land before the coming of the visitors from Indonesia and it is not intended to suggest that the exchange system in this territory depends on the coming of these seafaring visitors. But its orientation at the present time, and its most important "drives" certainly owe much

177 to the impact of Indonesian culture. The giving and
431 exchange of gifts, of *gerri*, is an important accompaniment
[602] of much of the ritual that takes place in Arnhem Land and
[182] is an integral part of the behaviour which is obligatory
between relatives of certain orders within the kinship
system. A number of special relationships, of which one,
tjuḵarŋo, is mentioned on page 75, are also characterised
by the exchange of possessions.

And again, the fact must be stressed that the ceremonial
431 exchange cycle is not merely a matter of exchange or barter,
577 although the economic exchange is a vital accompaniment,
but that a man having once established a place in the
ḵumur märnda relationship, must reciprocate with the
appropriate *gerri*. As one of my informants said (page 79),
"*Must* I give *wetj*"—"I *must* reciprocate." And again, when
he is offered a gift, a man cannot refuse it—he *must* accept
it—and after holding it for the period permitted by custom,
pass it on to one of his partners. When people of an inland
clan, who are partners in the *ḵumur djalḵ* and *ḵumur ḵärin*
directions, brought big ceremonial presentations of flint spear
heads, boomerangs, forehead fillets (*ḵällämba*) and large
ceremonial hair belts and other *gerri*, to their exchange partners in *ḵumur mnadäḵ* the people would have no choice.
They would be obliged to accept the *gerri* brought by the
visitors and to reciprocate. The *gerri* appropriate to each
[183] quarter are defined by tradition, and again, it was stated that
tradition lays down the rule that *gerri* from one *ḵumur* may
[182] not return to the quarter in which they originated. The
[433] practical effect of this custom would be to make it difficult
for the people of the coast to have a monopoly of iron implements, such as axes, knives, iron spear heads, wire for
fish spears, even if they wished to do so. It would be impossible for them to possess these without the knowledge

of their immediate neighbours who could solicit such *gerri* 182 431 433 577 by themselves making substantial ceremonial presentations, requiring appropriate return gifts.

The social implication of the *kumur märnda* relationship 177 182 431 577 is such that if the inland people maintain a constant stream of *gerri* to their neighbours to the north, these must be reciprocated, with resultant increase in the volume and tempo of the exchange cycle. It will be evident that under this system it would be impossible for any man to accumulate, or to hold permanently, much *gerri*. To do so would mean to default in his obligations to exchange partners. He would lose prestige and social status. His social personality would suffer, which, to these people, would far outweigh the value of the possessions. The functional importance of the exchange system and the vital part it plays in the social and ceremonial life of the people of Arnhem Land, as well as the stimulus which it must have received through the coming of the Macassar visitors, is evident. The Macassar influence is important not merely as a source of the greatly valued *muadäk*, but also for the incentive which this gave to the inland groups to send up *gerri* to *kumur muadäk*, which they knew must be reciprocated with the articles which they valued, and which were most important to their own social life and economy. And by no means the least im- [619] portant feature of the ceremonial exchange cycle was the part it played in overcoming the effect of the segmentary organisation, which would tend normally to restrict communication, a fact to which reference has already been made.

The facts which have been presented, although they deal 177 182 431 with one relationship only, will suffice to show that the influence of the Macassar visitors on the economic life and ceremonial exchange cycle of the natives of Arnhem Land

177 was an important one. It supplied the "drive" for the
182 extensive exchange system which was in part ceremonial,
431 and it furnished the mechanism and the dynamic force
under cover of which *gerri* were sent south to discharge
obligations set up by receipt of a steady flow of gifts, and
so to stimulate reciprocal presentations by creating obligations which must be fulfilled.

Important as were the contributions made by the Indonesian visitors in actual material objects, such as iron for knives and fish hooks, wooden *lippa lippa* and the axes with which to cut canoes and so to augment food supply, their most important contribution was social—in the dynamic effect these things exercised on the social and ceremonial life under cover of which the important, but less obtrusive, economic exchange system has been developed.

Figure 1

102
431 Map of Arnhem Land showing the area covered by the Ceremonial Exchange Cycle.

The chart which has been superimposed shows the orientation from the point of view of a man of Mildjiŋi clan of the Lower Glyde River area, but a similar orientation obtains for the whole of North Eastern Arnhem Land. Each horizon or *ḳumur* within the exchange cycle has its own characteristic goods or *gerri* which may be referred to, collectively, by the name of the quarter within the exchange cycle from which they come. Hence, *djalḳ*, which is actually the name of the sheath made from paperbark, in which flint spear heads are wrapped for protection, gives its name to "*ḳumur djalḳ*", the quarter of which these flint spear heads are the most characteristic and important *gerri*, and also to all other *gerri* received from that quarter.

Every man within the exchange cycle receives gifts of the appropriate kind from exchange partners of life-long standing, holds these gifts for a short time, and then passes them on to partners in another quarter in which they are appropriate *gerri*, in reciprocation of gifts which he has received from them and in discharge of an obligation incurred. This exchange cycle, which goes on continuously, provides the structure, the mechanism and the driving force, for an extensive circulation of goods which accompanies it, and therefore has an economic importance which is often masked by the ceremonial aspect.

Inset: Map of Australia with the territory of Arnhem Land indicated by shading.

[End Map 1(A)]

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943) 1949
OI17 Murngin OI17

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●431
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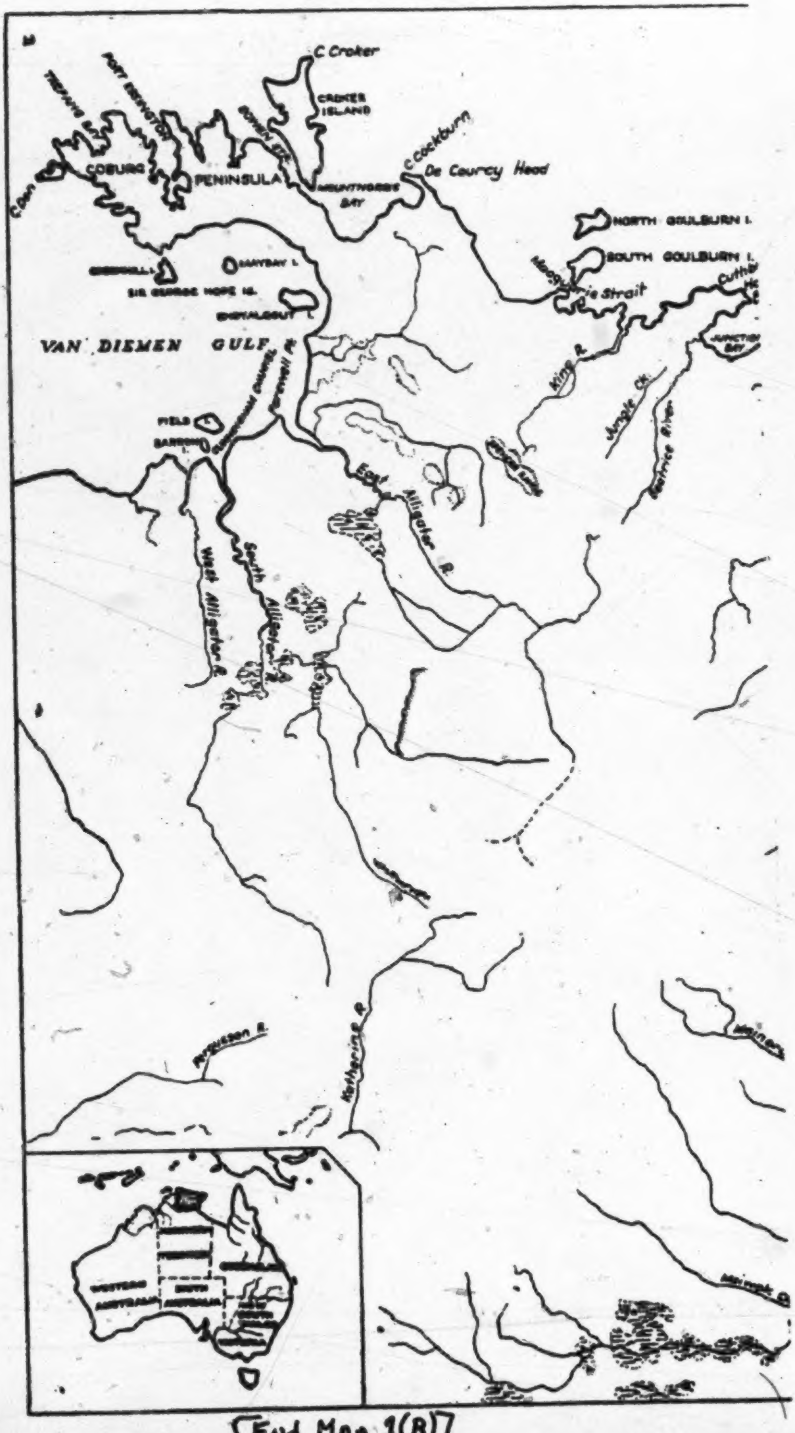
C Croker
CROKER ISLAND
PORT ESSINGTON
BOWEN STR.
COBURG
PENINSULA
MOUNTNORRIS BAY
C Cockburn
De Courcy Head
NORTH GOULBURN I.
SOUTH GOULBURN I.
Macquarie Strait
SIR GEORGE HOPE IS.
VAN DIEMEN GULF
FIELD I.
King R.
Jungle Ck.
JUNCTION BAY
East Alligator R.
West Alligator R.
South Alligator R.
Katherine R.
Ferguson R.
WESTERN AUSTRALIA
SOUTH AUSTRALIA

[End Map 1(B)]

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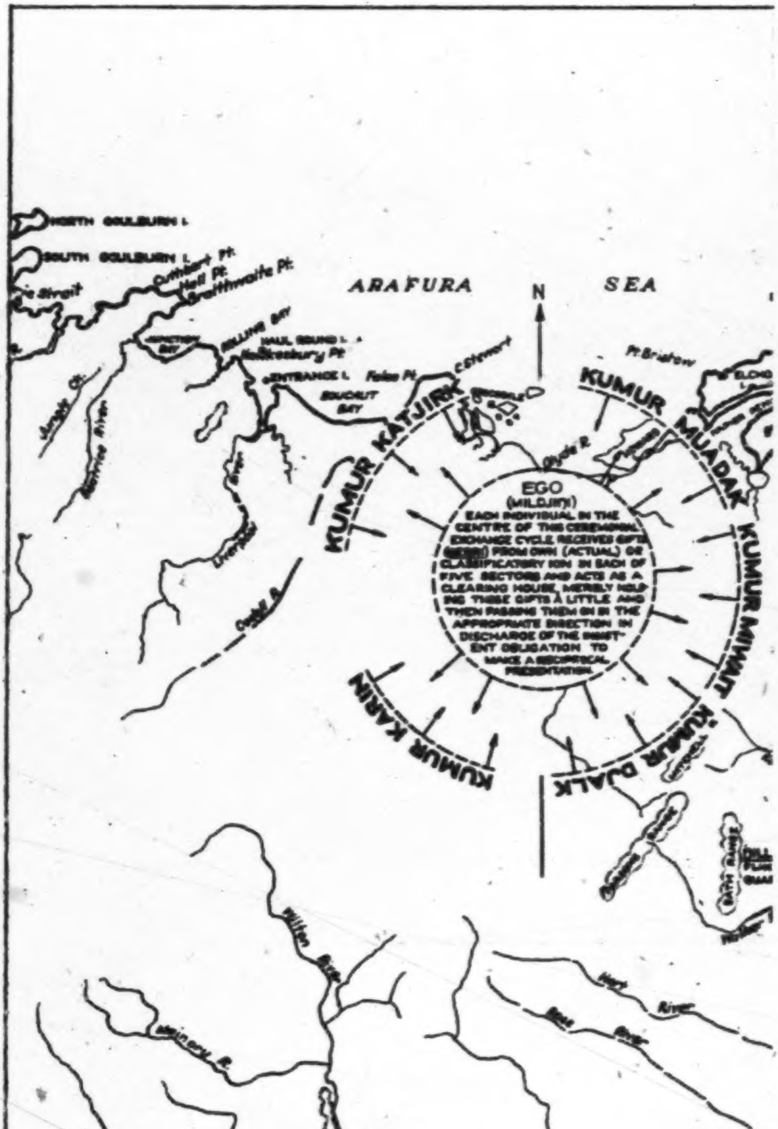
NORTH GOULBURN I.
SOUTH GOULBURN I.
Cuthbert Pt.
Hall Pt.
Braithwaite Pt.
Strait
ARAFURA
SEA
N
JUNCTION BAY
MILLING BAY
HAUL ROUND I.
Hawkesbury Pt.
ENTRANCE I.
False Pt.
C. Stewart
BOUCAUT BAY
Pt. Bristow
Liverpool
Cadell R.
Glyde R.
KUMUR KATJIRK
KUMUR
MUADAK
KUMUR MIWAIT
KUMUR DJALK
KUMUR KARIN
EGO
(MILDJIRI)
EACH INDIVIDUAL IN THE CENTRE OF THIS CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE CYCLE RECEIVES GIFTS ([illegible]) FROM OWN (ACTUAL) OR CLASSIFICATORY KIN IN EACH OF FIVE SECTORS AND ACTS AS A CLEARING HOUSE, MERELY HOLDING THESE GIFTS A LITTLE AND THEN PASSING THEM ON IN THE APPROPRIATE DIRECTION IN DISCHARGE OF THE INSISTENT OBLIGATION TO MAKE A RECIPROCAL PRESENTATION.
Wilton River
Mainoru R.
Hart River
Rose River
Phelp River
Roper River
LIMMEN BIGHT

[End Map 1 (C)]

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949

OI17 Murngin OI17

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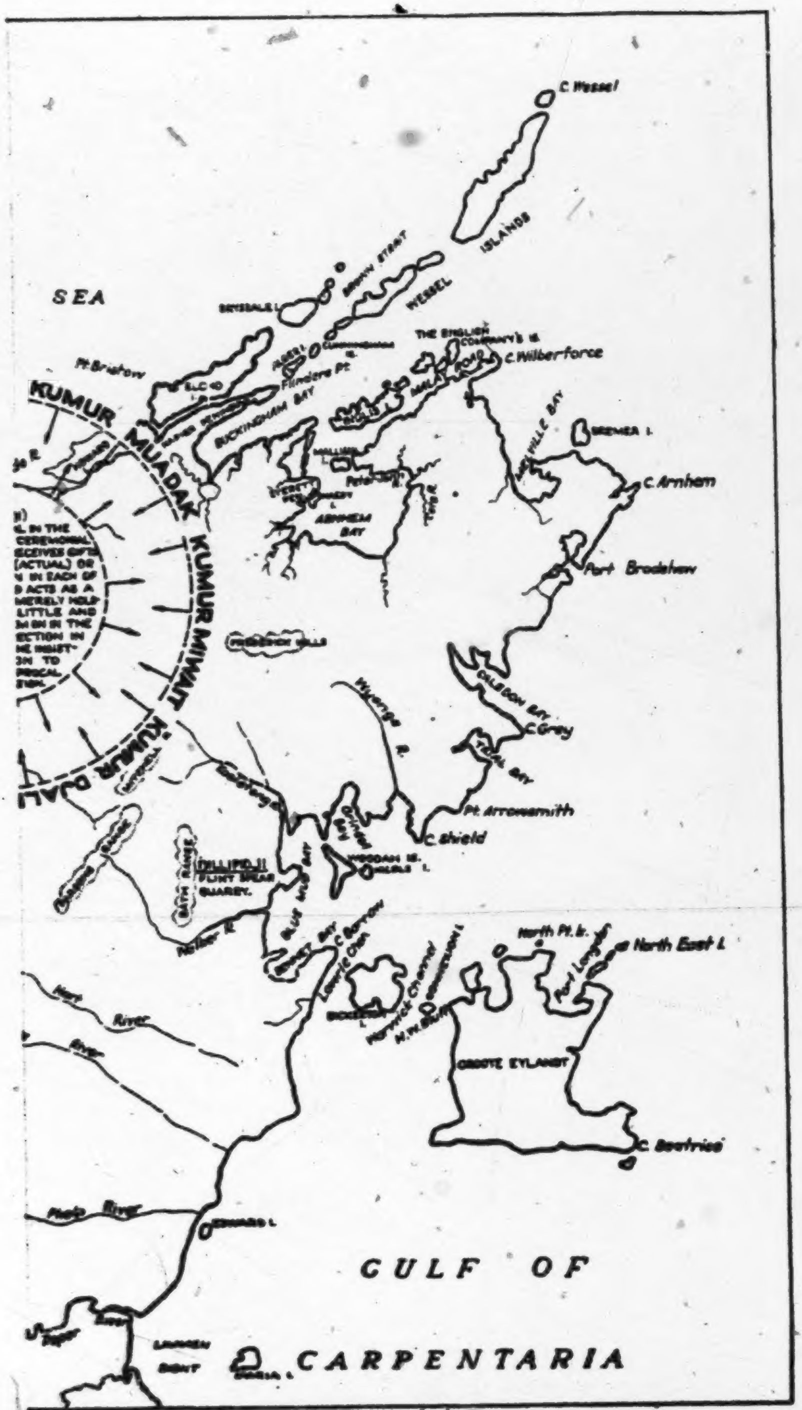

C. Wessel
ISLANDS
WESSEL
SEA
Drysdale I.
Cunningham Is.
Abbey I.
Pt. Bristow
Elcho I.
Flinders Pt.
Buckingham Bay
The English Company's Is.
C. Wilberforce
Bremer I.
C. Arnhem
Arnhem Bay
Port Bradshaw
Caledon Bay
C. Grey
Trial Bay
Pt. Arrowsmith
C. Shield
Woodah Is.
Bath Range
Dillipidji
Flint Spear Quarry.
Blue Mud Bay
C. Barrow
Walker R.
Hart River
River
Groote Eylandt
North East I.
C. Beatrice
Edward I.
GULF OF CARPENTARIA
Limmen Bight
KUMUR
MUADAK
KUMUR MIWAIT
KUMUR DJALI

End Map 1(D)

Figure 2

102 Map of Arnhem Land illustrating some of the characteristic "*gerri*"
●431 of each sector of the ceremonial exchange cycle and the principal
439 paths by which these *gerri* reach a man of Mildjiŋi clan of the
Lower Glyde River area.

Boomerangs, coming from far to the south-west, as indicated by the arrows at lower left hand corner, may travel via either the Katherine or Wilton Rivers so that eventually they may enter North Central Arnhem Land from the west, across the Liverpool River, or from the south-east, by way of the Walker, Koolatong and Glyde Rivers.

Flint spear heads of a special type called "*ŋāmbi*", which are made only at ŋillipidji near Blue Mud Bay, are shown wrapped neatly in paperbark sheaths called "*djalḳ*". Bundles of these spear heads enter from the *ḳumur djalḳ* quarter (south-east), or alternatively, by a more easterly route via the southern shorelines of Arnhem and Buckingham Bays. The typical way in which *gerri*, called collectively *māthaḳāl* and *muadāḳ*, which were a heritage from the Macassar voyagers, reached Arnhem Land, and the route by which they entered the ceremonial exchange cycle is also shown. Numerous Macassar camp sites, at which shore stations were established, and where trepang was boiled and cured, are scattered along the northern coastline, notably at Arnhem Bay, Elcho Island and Miliŋimbi in the Crocodile Islands.

[End Map 2 (A)]

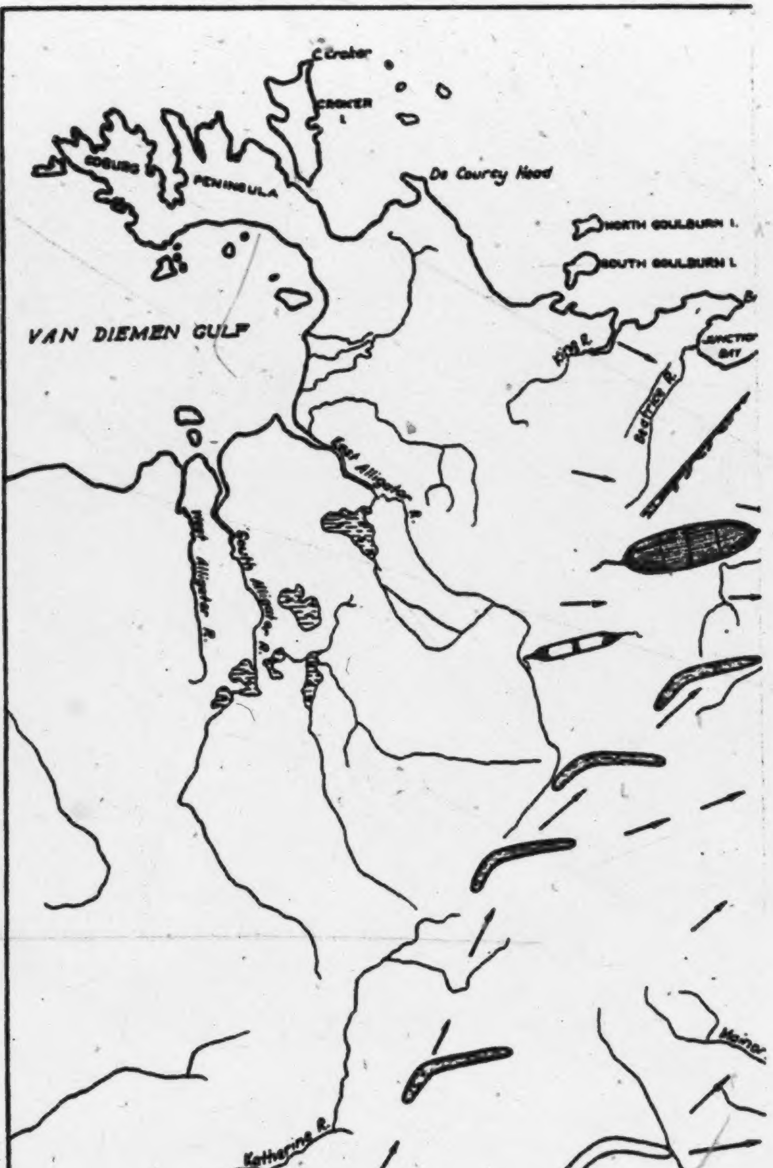
9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943) 1949

OI17 Murngin OI17

102

● 431

439

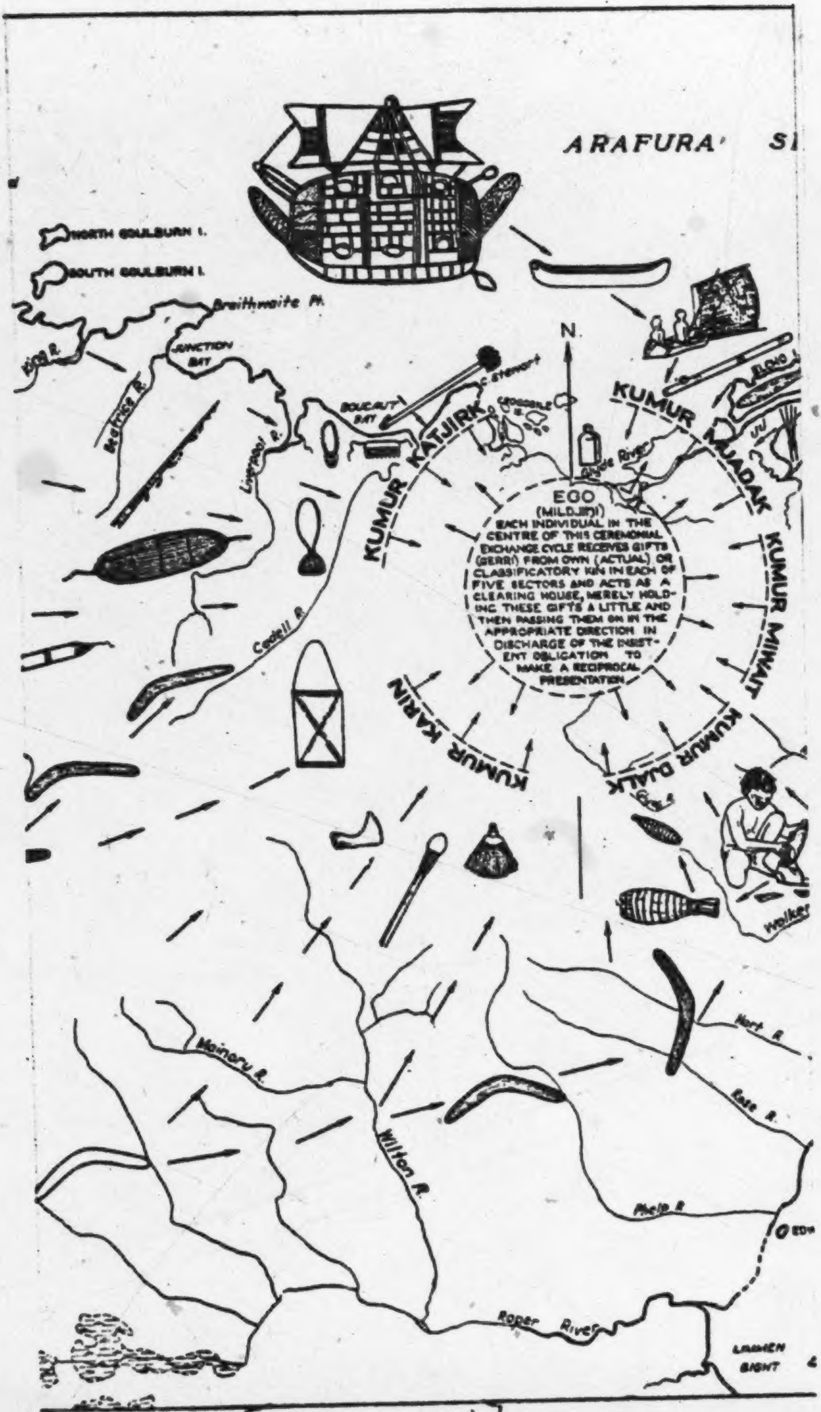

Croker
CROKER I.
COBURG PENINSULA
De Courcy Head
NORTH GOULBURN I.
SOUTH GOULBURN I.
King R.
JUNCTION BAY
VAN DIEMEN GULF
East Alligator R.
West Alligator R.
South Alligator R.
Katherine R.
King R.
Mainor

[End MAp 2(B)]

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943)1949

OI17 Murngin OI17

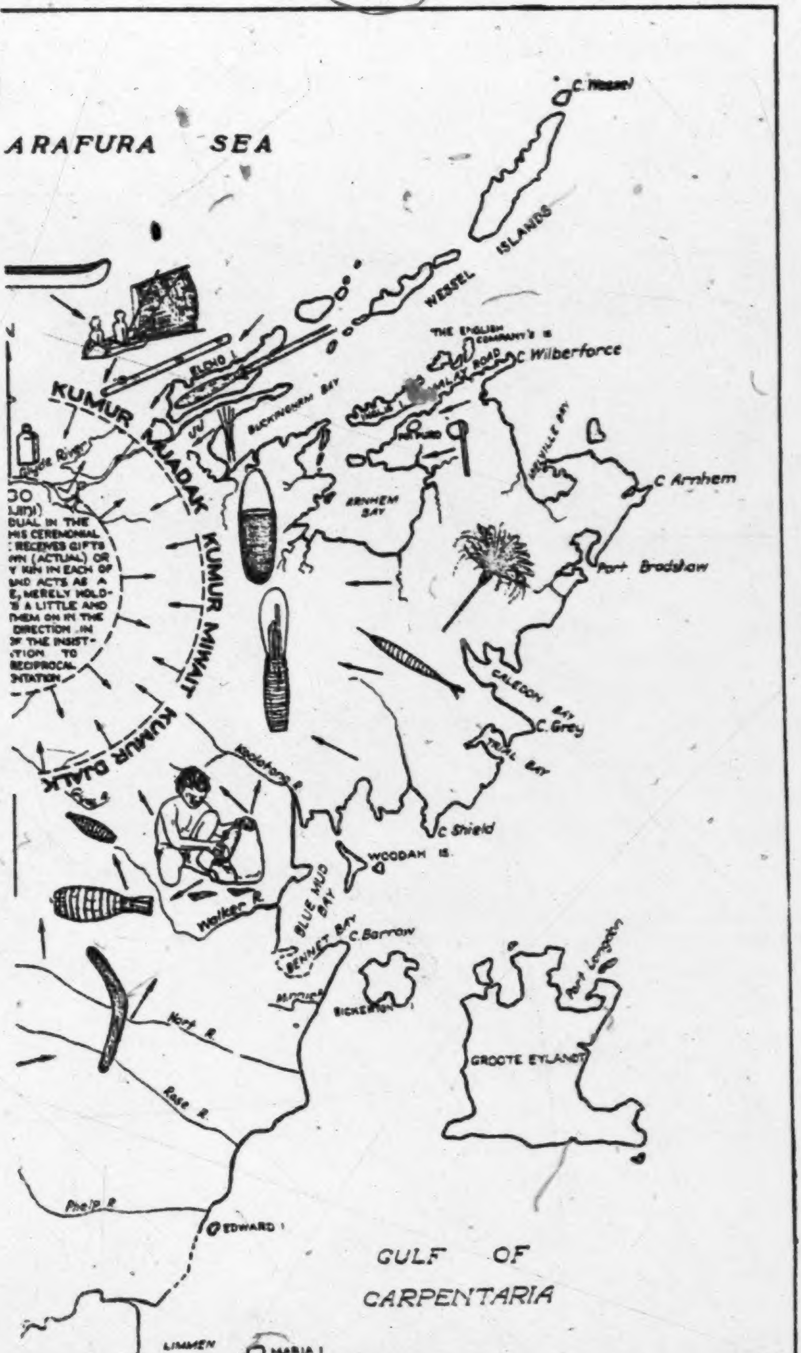
102
●431
439


ARAFURA S
NORTH GOULBURN I.
SOUTH GOULBURN I.
Braithwaite Pt.
JUNCTION BAY
King R.
Blyth R.
Liverpool R.
BOUCAUT BAY
C. Stewart
CROCODILE IS.
N.
Glyde River
ELCHO I.
KUMUR KATJIRK
KUMUR NAJADAK
KUMUR MINAIT
KUMUR DJALK
KUMUR KARIN
EGO
(MILDJIRI)
EACH INDIVIDUAL IN THE CENTRE OF THIS CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE CYCLE RECEIVES GIFTS (GERRI) FROM OWN (ACTUAL) OR CLASSIFICATORY KIN IN EACH OF FIVE SECTORS AND ACTS AS A CLEARING HOUSE, MERELY HOLDING THESE GIFTS A LITTLE AND THEN PASSING THEM ON IN THE APPROPRIATE DIRECTION IN DISCHARGE OF THE INSISTENT OBLIGATION TO MAKE A RECIPROCAL PRESENTATION
Cadell R.
Walker R.
Mainoru R.
Wilton R.
Hart R.
Rose R.
Phelp R.
Roper River
LIMMEN BIGHT

Ext Map 2(C)

9: Thomson E-5 (1935-1943) 1949
OI17 Murngin OI17

102
431
439



ARAFURA SEA
C Wessel
WESSEL ISLANDS
ELCHO
KUMUR
KUMUR MAJADAK
KUMUR MIWAIT
KUMUR DJALK
BUCKINGHAM BAY
THE ENGLISH COMPANY'S IS
MALAY ROAD
C Wilberforce
MELVILLE BAY
C Arnhem
ARNHEM BAY
Port Bradshaw
CALEDON BAY
C Grey
TRIAL BAY
C Shield
WOODAH IS.
Koolatong R.
Walker R.
BLUE MUD BAY
BENNET BAY
C Barrow
BICKERTON
Port Langdon
GROOTE EYLANDT
Goyder River
30
DUAL IN THE
HIS CEREMONIAL
RECEIVES GIFTS
(ACTUAL) OR
Y KIN IN EACH OF
AND ACTS AS A
E, MERELY HOLD-
S A LITTLE AND
THEM ON IN THE
DIRECTION IN
OF THE INSIST-
TION TO
RECIPROCAL
NTATION
Hart R.
Rose R.
Phelp R.
EDWARD I
GULF OF CARPENTARIA
LIMMEN BIGHT
MARIA I

[Eu Map 2(D)]

159 We Wangurri clans-people are a bush people (pages 16-29, 42). We are very strong and very fierce and good fighters. All the coast people are afraid of us. Our country comes to the salt water at only one place on Arnhem
[439] Bay (map, page 40). It was here that we saw the Macassar. They brought us presents of rice, syrup, calico, tomahawks, dugout canoes, knives, and gin. We gave them pearl shell, pearls, tortoise shell, sandalwood, and other woods they use for medicine. We helped them gather trepang (pages 456-458).

159 At these times, when the Macassar prahus took down their sails and
273 masts and their men disembarked, our old men drank plenty, for it was
439 then they got all the gin they wanted for the presents they gave the Macassar
579 man. There would always be big fights. In the morning you could see blood everywhere and many people were killed. While the old men fought with the knives from around their belts and with tomahawks, clubs, and spears, we children used to sneak in and eat the food that they had left. We always waited our chance and rushed in and ran away again.

159 I can remember one day my father's giving me some tortoise shell and
431 saying, "Mahkarolla, you go and give this to that Macassar man and make
609 friends with him so that when he comes again he will know you, and you will know him, and you will have a feeling of friendship for each other." I did. The Macassar man talked to me but I didn't understand him. I forget the rest.

159 Another thing I remember when I was very small: I went with my father
574 through the Gwiyamil clan country to the Wulkara people for a corroboree. This is the path our ranga took in the stories we know about him, and those people are also Sand Fly people (pages 33-35), just as we Wangurri are.

159 Before we were circumcised we little boys played spear-fighting games,
857 talked about sneaking up and killing a man, and we threw clay mud balls at each other. When it was hot in the rainy season we swam in the sea (pages 125-128).

Later we played being grown men and women with the little girls. We made little fires in the sand beaches. We went out just like our fathers and pretended to spear fish, and the little girls went into the bush and brought home bush food (vegetable food). We made little bark huts just like our fathers' and mothers'. The girls would come in and lie beside us as our wives and we were their husbands.

When we were little boys, others boys who were a little bit bigger joked us about the wives we were going to marry. This made me feel very ashamed. Little girls joked the same way. They also became ashamed. When we got bigger we weren't ashamed any more. We were glad.

159
867 I think I always knew it was wrong to "play with" a girl of the Yiritcha

Wongar men, things would have been different. Both the men and the 159
women were Dua. They were incestuous. It was like a brother and sister 581
being together. Those two sisters left that country, one pregnant and the 828
other menstruating. If they had not done this, this cycle would never have 773
happened. Everyone and all plants and animals would have stayed single. 825
But after the Wawilak sisters had done this they made it the law for everyone (pages 250-251).

When I was a small boy I walked about single. One day my gawel came to 159
me and said, "Look at me. I am your gawel. You must give me kangaroo 431
and turtle and spears. By and by I will give you my gatu mielk" (pages 582
93-98). 583

I gave him spears and spear-throwers, hair belts, and all kinds of food because he would give me his daughters. When I first started making presents to him for my wife, my younger brothers all helped me. By and by, when they get ready to have a wife, I shall help them make presents to their gawels. My gawel gave my father presents of spears and food, and he also gave my arndi presents because I was her son and because she is my gawel's sister.

We like our wives' fathers very much. Suppose my gawel and my father 159
quarrel and suppose they fight. I can do nothing. I cannot help my father. 606
I cannot help my father-in-law. I must do nothing. They are all the same to me. I must try to stop any fight.

All men try to get plenty of wakus in other countries. This is because 159
they send presents to their gawels. They send things that aren't in this 431
country. This country, where we are now, has no stone. Relatives here 604
send presents to the Ritarngo country for stone spear heads. They send 606
bamboo to the Goyder River people for it. Some others have no white clay and they send to other countries for it. Fathers-in-law and sons-in-law are the people who do this (pages 95-96).

Sometimes a no-good gawel promises his daughter to three wakus. All 159
these "half" sons-in-law give presents to him. They all think they are going 578
to get that girl. By and by one gets her. This means a big row. The other 604
two want to fight this lucky one, and they always fight the father of the girl because he has been two-faced. They think this gawel maybe is a little bit crazy. Sometimes two or three boys, when they are all trying to get a girl, see that her father is no good and they all quit.

When a man marries a woman his father-in-law tells him to take good 159
care of her. When a man has two daughters from his father-in-law, some- 584
times the old man comes and says to him, "It is better that I give your younger brother this next girl." The older brother says, "Yes, you tell him

752 262 honour; sickness overtakes the offender, or the father may
224 spear him.
[053]

New spears, knives, axes, and canoes are sometimes
778 pronounced sacred and thereby impregnated by tabu.
784 Custom provides for the use of such articles in inter-tribal
411 presentations, and any responsible man may prepare them
224 and paint his horde's totem on them. Nanyan, a youth of
[431] the Gerrkee horde, spent most of his time at Yirrkala, and
[531] I watched him make a spear and 'declare' it sacred. But the
tabu could not be completed till he had killed with it, and
when he speared a kangaroo it automatically became tabu
to all but the men of his horde. After the meat had been
eaten the oldest man present completed the ceremony by
painting totemic symbols on it for Nanyan. He prized his
spear and used it for a time in hunting; and because it had
[531] been ceremonially 'painted', the tabu was under control,
and women and children of his own horde were allowed to
[562] eat meat killed with it, though on no account could the kill
be shared with females from other hordes.

Nanyan later presented his spear to a man of the Kumite
[431] horde who had no totemic or marriage link with the Gerrkee.
This 'alien' appreciated the courtesy and used the spear
freely in the hunt, but only the initiated men could eat the
[562] food, the women and children not being allowed to share in
the kill, because their horde had no associations with the
spear's totemic centre. Finally the spear was formally returned
to Nanyan who put it to normal use in procuring
food for himself and family.

784 On patrol I visited a horde camped among the casuarinas
126 near Caledon Bay, and in the evening saw the men return
562 with a canoe loaded with fish. During the unloading I
noticed that the women and children deliberately kept away
and ignored the splendid haul, and I was told that the canoe

If a woman secretly hunted for men's food at such a time, 262
she would bring trouble on herself and relatives, and the 841
species of game she killed would become scarce; when the men caught nothing they would say: 'Some woman must have eaten food here', and within a few hours every woman in the locality would be expected to produce an alibi. The life of her husband would be in jeopardy and sooner or later [752]
misfortune would overtake him. In offering condolence to an injured man, sympathizers will observe that, as there seems to be no apparent cause for his misfortune, his wives have probably violated this food law.

In bush camps men have a lot of time on their hands, and 574
if a man strolls into a friend's camp he can be sure of a welcome and a remarkable display of polite consideration. If the host has been fishing, he will share the food with his visitor, totally ignoring women and children in his camp. He will remark that there are more fish if his visitor would care to stay and share them, or, if he shows signs of leaving, the largest and best will be pressed on him and the [431]
host may even give him a spear or spear-thrower as well. When I asked why such ostentatious gifts were made, I was assured that it was customary, and that the man sitting alone in his camp, except for his wives and children, is inordinately pleased when a friend visits him, and the gifts help to express his goodwill and friendliness.

On the other hand, aboriginal farewells are never prolonged. At the conclusion of a visit, or when leaving the home camp for an extended period, the men continue their [576]
discussions till the women, children, and dogs have started out. Men then terminate their visit by nonchalantly remarking: 'I'm finished; I'm going.' Nothing more is said on either side, and they leave.

'My word, Naratjin, you have a fine boy there. He has 576

576 your head, and his nose has a ridge like yours. I never noticed before just how much he resembles you, especially when he walks and swings his elbows. He's a splendid lad.'

Naratjin was amusing his small son beside his windbreak in the cool of the day, when Maulin, a man from another horde and moiety, spoke thus to him from the door of his hut. Nomads are extraordinarily susceptible to praise and readily respond to what we would call flattery. But [431] Naratjin was delighted at what he had heard and set about preparing the customary present of food for the [302] flatterer. He painted his son with coloured clay and [301] decorated him with armlets and corslet of string and bird feathers, and took him to visit Maulin. Looking up and seeing the child in all his glory, the flatterer expressed his pleasure before graciously accepting the present. At first I suspected the flatterer of 'singing for his supper', but this somewhat rare form of praise is genuine; it is spontaneously given in public, and Yulengor who may be sitting near by courteously lower their voices whilst the 'toast' is proposed.

576 224 [888] A carefully preserved etiquette governs the distribution of food. Choice parts of the kill, such as back legs and loins, go to the old men, before the rest is divided according to the age and importance of those present. Generally the meal proceeds peacefully, and each hunter receives his share with a studied indifference which is under careful control, for the greatest importance is attached to good food.

578 224 784 Quarrels can arise from the unfair distribution of food, as when Jaua brought in a kangaroo to share with his brothers and an old man of the Ngaimil horde, and the Ngaimil elder quickly muttered an incantation over it, declaring that he had thereby made it sacred to his Ngaimil totem. By his act, the old man made it possible for him to eat the meat but impossible for the youth who had killed the animal to

touch it, or for his brothers to do so either. The night was 578 hideous with their quarrelling, and though the brothers 224 attacked the old man with their spear-throwers, he loudly 784 proclaimed the tabu and the youths dared not eat the meat.

Sexual intercourse is accepted as a natural function, not 833 to be affected by proximity to the family circle or to other families camped a few feet away, nor yet by occasional unseemly interest from the young men's camp. Even in east 837 Arnhem Land, where a strict morality is outwardly enforced, intercourse is little less than promiscuous, and it is not to be wondered at that most youths laughingly admit their *affairs d'amours*, and that women frequently make the initial advance—though secretly for fear of their husbands.

To prevent irregularities, married men enforce a number 834 of prohibitions, and unmarried and unattached men are [361] segregated in a camp by themselves at a reasonable distance [589] from any family. A woman is not allowed to eat food [262] presented to her husband by a youth, in case he should [431] consider her to be under an obligation to him, and if a youth wishes to share his food with a married brother, he must not go to his camp but must call him over and give it to him.

In many relationships it is unlawful for a man and [576] woman to greet each other, and when I have asked for a [551] name, I have often been greeted by evasion or silence, simply because no one present was allowed to utter the name. Brothers and sisters may not look at each other when [593] speaking, but talk with averted faces. A man converses 551 freely with his wife, mother, daughter, granddaughter, and 602 niece; but when speaking to other relatives he averts his face, and not being able to call them by name he draws their attention by an ejaculation or by saying: 'I wish to women would remark 'Kummajulni' ('Your chest is broad and your breasts well nourished'). 576 195

A man who accidentally injures another, perhaps by tripping or striking him with a spear or canoe paddle, abjectly apologizes by saying: 'Kummajarrk, ngara gorana.' He protests his goodwill, adding that he is ashamed or cast-down at his victim's discomfort, and except in the case of brothers and nearest relatives, he invariably gives a present as compensation. [431]

one end with bark. A hole is made in the side of the tube 276
for a piece of curved tin or a thimble to hold the tobacco.
Birds, animals, or men are sometimes carved or painted [532]
on the stem. As a special favour a man will promise a
pipe to a friend when it is worn out, and after months of [431]
constant use, when the pipe is saturated with nicotine, the presentation is made. The recipient proceeds to crush the frail tube and scrape its interior for the handful of nicotine shavings; other men gather, a pipe is filled with the moist shavings, and with a coal on top it is passed from one to another. It is customary to draw only once or twice, and everyone fills his lungs with smoke, holds it as long as possible and reluctantly exhales. The mixture is so strong that a whiff of it will cause coughing and the eyes to water.

Clap-sticks and drone-pipes, or 'didjery-doos', are the 534
only musical instruments known to Stone Age men. Drone-pipes are hollow tree-trunks, about four feet long and three inches in diameter, which have been eaten out by white ants. Men blow through them, and the low drumming sound can be heard from camps at night as the people join in the camp-songs. Clap-sticks, or short pieces of hardwood, are beaten together, and make a noise sometimes like the rat-a-tat of a
kettle-drum. Nomads are musically inclined; they will sing 533
from dusk till midnight for pleasure, and also in times of [765]
sorrow. Myths are transmitted and thoughts are expressed in song. Apart from songs with refrains, well-known theme-songs relate to Yulengor themselves, to camp-sites, sharks, the sea, rain, and canoes loaded with fish.

A 'camp-site' song has words and phrases fitted into the timing according to the fancy of the leader, and is interspersed by humming or the repetition of euphonious phrases. A song might go something like this:

'Coming to a camp' . . . 'men recline and await the women'
'Yanja, Wilama, Wirrwa', etc. (favoured camp-site names)

765 horde had for the deceased. In decimated hordes, and in the case of aged and unwanted wives, I have known bodies to be left in the ground and no attempt made to remove them.

775 Until bones have been collected and a mother is
783 'purified' she remains smeared with red-ochre and leads an
765 inactive life. Relatives feed her and carry water from the
[302] well so that she will not desecrate it, for her child's ghost hovers near her and may attach itself to anything she handles. Similarly the relative who dismembers the body is tabu because of the ghost lodging in his skin, and he also is barred from waterholes and from feeding himself and becomes dependent on the hospitality of the family of the corpse. They are expected to treat him well even to the extent of
[431] making presents in return for the favour he has done them in attending to the corpse and running the risk of absorbing the ghost. Consequently there is no difficulty in getting 'grandsons' to run these risks, and the father not infrequently declines several offers and even limits the number of morticians to two or three.

783 This final purification ceremony is similar to the 'mum-
765 bakuta' described in Chapter 5. Food is deposited in a
[264] totemic well conveniently scooped in the sand, and from this a ceremonial meal is eaten by the victims of the tabu and by certain near relatives. Waste food is piled into the well and burnt, to prevent dingoes disturbing it, and the tabu is finally lifted and the ghost removed when the relatives heat leafy twigs in a fire and switch their bodies. Alternatively, water or sand may be poured over the 'unclean' as they stand in the totemic well and smear themselves with red-ochre.

761 All deaths are regarded with a certain amount of suspicion,
754 but the death of an active warrior is always attributed to sorcery. In such case the body is left in the ground for a very
765 [766] short time before the bones are collected. Smaller ones are